Aspects of Form and Function: with some reference to Warlpiri and Latin

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Abstract

The overall aim of this thesis is to investigate the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors involved in a shift from free to fixed word order, with particular reference to a contact situation.

Some of the questions asked therefore, refer to typological vulnerability: Is a non-configurational language vulnerable to change when it comes into contact with a configurational language? What relevance do sociolinguistic factors have in typological shift?

As a starting point to answering these questions I have outlined some of the traditional approaches to studying language change, summarised aspects of language change as a result of a contact situation, including typological shift, and noted the background information necessary to understand such a shift.

The Warlpiri case study comprises the main part of the thesis. The main aim of this chapter is to make a link between linguistic and social change, and a possible shift in the freedom of word order, and to better understand the social and linguistic ecology which sustains free word order in Warlpiri.

The Latin case study highlights the fact that as a result of contact, sociolinguistic factors triggered a shift in the 'freedom' of word order, and/or exacerbated changes already underway, even though Latin was a dominant and prestigious language.

In conclusion, I suggest that non-configurational languages are inherently typologically vulnerable in a contact situation, and that diverse social and linguistic factors are involved in a change to the freedom of word order. As free word order in a language requires a complex morphology, which in turn requires a great deal of external support to maintain it (e.g. specific social structures such as literacy and education). It follows then, that if the existing sociolinguistic factors which support non-configurationality are altered or lost, and the functional need for non-configurationality is diminished (e.g. stylistic), the result will be a shift in configurationality.

Statement

This work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

I consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being available for loan and photocopying.

Silvia Schwarz.

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The perfecting of language demands that every word be stamped as a specific part of speech, and carry within it those properties that a philosophical analysis of language perceives therein. It thus presupposes inflection.

Wilhelm von Humbolt

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Configuration: ***manner of arrangement, shape, outline.***

1.1 Aim

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors involved in the shift of a 'free' to a 'fixed' word order language, in other words to investigate aspects of form and function with reference to configurationality.

The initial motivation for this study came from studying Latin texts and wondering how free word order operated in the spoken language and why there was a shift to fixed word order in the contemporary manifestation of spoken Latin, that is the Romance languages. As an investigation of Latin would be historically based, I thought that it would be useful to do a comparative study of a non-configurational language which is spoken in the Northern Territory, namely Warlpiri, a Pama-Nyungan language with approximately 3000 speakers.[1]

Warlpiri also provides an interesting contrast to Latin because it is a 'non-dominant' language with a relatively small speaker population. Furthermore, just as Dixon (1980:443) had speculated for Kuuku-Ya'u in Far North Queensland, I surmised that as result of contact with English, Warlpiri may be in the process of shifting from a non-configurational to a configurational language.

> *In Kuuku-Ya?u, from far North Queensland, the ergative inflection ...usually occurs on just the final word of an NP in A function. It can, however, be omitted, the A NP being identified only by its initial position - before O and V - in the sentence. This may be an example of word order becoming more rigid, and beginning to take over the role of syntactic identification that had previously been handled by case inflections; the next step would be to speculate as to whether this development may possibly have been influenced by intensive contact with English ...(Dixon 1980:443)*

[1]More information about Warlpiri is provided in Chapter Four - Part 1. See also, Maps 1-5.

Therefore some of the questions asked include: What is a shift in configurationality like? Is there a preference for languages to have either free or fixed word order? Is the direction of change uni-directional or circular? For instance, if a language shifts from a non-configurational to a configurational one, or vice versa, will there be no reversal of this shift? Alternatively, a shift in configurationality may be part of a continuous cycle from free to fixed and back again.

Other questions relate to the manner of language change: Is it due to internal or external factors? Is a non-configurational language vulnerable to change when it comes into contact with a configurational language and are there any typical indicators? What relevance, if any, do social factors have in typological shift?

In order to provide the necessary background information for a study of this kind, I will briefly discuss some of the theories concerning language change with reference to both social and linguistic factors. The Warlpiri case study serves as a foundation for an investigation into the role of sociolinguistic factors in a shift in configurationality, and as a foundation for a comparative study of syntax. The Latin case study serves as a comparative reference to the study of Warlpiri.

But first, what do I mean by the term 'non-configurational language'? Early references to the term 'configuration' date from the 1600's in the field of natural sciences, in particular biology, geology and astronomy. In the 1900's, the term was taken up by psychologists in connection with *Gestalttheorie* (lit. theory of form) and it is at this point where it may have been adopted by linguists. Bloomfield (1950:197) uses the word 'configuration' with reference to the manner of arrangement of words or phrases, and describes the word order of Latin as 'non-distinctive and connotative' and that 'the words appear in all possible orders ... with differences only of emphasis and liveliness' (i.e. non-configurational).

In many contemporary dictionaries of language and linguistics, however, the heading of configurationality is not listed. Instead, reference to configurationality may feature under a variety of headings such as 'word order', 'syntax', or 'typology'. In one such dictionary

(Crystal 1992:279), word order is described as the 'pattern of relationships within a linear sequence of linguistic units'. Also, the terms 'configurational' and 'non-configurational' are not always used by writers on the topic, some preferring to use terms such as 'word order' and 'linearization'. Comrie (1989:35) for instance, uses the term 'free word order language', rather than 'non-configurational language' as he states 'there seem to be some languages that do not have a basic word order, or at least not a basic word order defined in terms of S, O, and V (so-called free word order languages)'. Other writers sidestep the issue of terminology with phrases such as 'virtually any sequence of a verb and its arguments and adjuncts is possible' (Siewierska 1994:4998).

Configurationality then, refers to the linear order of constituents in a sentence or phrase. A non-configurational language therefore, is one in which the order of constituents is relatively free and the order of constituents does not generally affect grammatical meaning, though it may reflect pragmatic or semantic meaning. For the purposes of this study, the terms 'free word order', or 'non-configurational', will be used interchangeably, and in using these terms, I make reference not only to languages in which the grammatical relations are expressed at the morphological level, but also to languages in which the potential for free word order is fully utilised. In contrast, by a 'fixed word order' or 'configurational' I make reference to a language in which the linear order of constituents is more fixed and through which grammatical meaning is expressed.

At this point it may also be useful to define the terms 'Warlpiri' and 'Latin'. Although the use of a single term does not acknowledge all the different varieties, dialects, or registers of a language, it is a useful tool when discussing language change. The term 'Warlpiri' in this paper, unless specified otherwise, refers to the formal written language as taught in the local school or used in various publications, as well as to spoken Warlpiri at Yuendumu. As with most languages, there is a gap between the written and spoken forms of Warlpiri. In the case of Latin, I have labelled the written language as 'Classical Latin' and the spoken form as 'spoken Latin' wherever possible. Where I refer to both the written and spoken forms, the term 'Latin' is used.

1.2 Methodology

First a brief word about sources for evidence of a possible shift in the freedom of word order. For Warlpiri, no written examples of language prior to non-Indigenous[2] contact exist, and so in a sense the language is linguistically and historically tainted. In order to investigate language change, child language acquisition has often been the focus of attention. The view that language change is a consequence of imperfect language acquisition by children was put forward as early as the late 1800's and again when it became popular in the 1960's and 1970's. It was argued that '[e]ach generation of children ... re-creates a slightly different grammar from that of its parents, in both syntax and sound structure' (Aitchison 1991:165-166).

It is also argued, however, that the changes to language initiated by children tend to be a transitory phase of language learning and that change is most probably initiated by adult speakers (Aitchison 1991: 168-170). Furthermore, people can and do alter their speech in adult life and as Hockett's (1950:453) Age-Grading diagram illustrates (see Figure 1.1), a speaker may be influenced at any point in time by the past tradition of any adult predecessors, as well as by their own past.

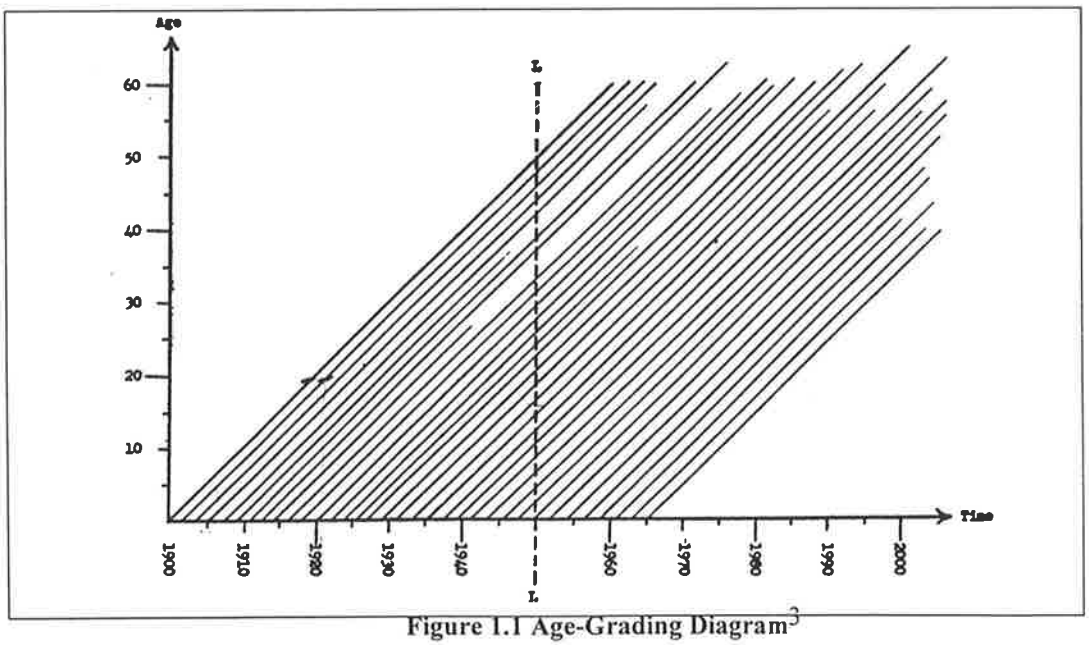

Figure 1.1 Age-Grading Diagram[3]

[2]I have deliberately used a number of different terms to refer to non-Indigenous and Indigenous Australian peoples and related issues throughout this paper, in reflection of the very different preferences for these terms as expressed by the groups themselves.
[3]See, Hockett (1950:453).

In this diagram the horizontal axis represents time, the vertical axis represents years-of-age, and the individual lines represent the life history of an individual. A vertical cross-section (e.g. L-L) demonstrates that at any point in time virtually every age group is represented and that there is always a certain degree of inter-individual activity.

In a contact situation, change as a result of imperfect learning may occur because of limited opportunities and diminished contexts in which the language can be transmitted to succeeding generations. In my field work, therefore, I have focused on the written and spoken language of teenagers and young adults because they have been generally more exposed to the English language, they have had the benefits of bilingual education, and because, as Bavin and Shopen (1991:109) note, the acquisition by Warlpiri children 'of core case marking (in terms of using the case markers as cues to sentence interpretation) is late by comparison with children acquiring other languages'. This means that testing for the use and understanding of case markers in the language of very young children may give more of an indication of the child's language development rather than language change.

Studies on language change in Latin have had to rely upon written evidence, seeking out examples of direct speech wherever possible. In support of the use of written evidence for an investigation into language change, Aitchison (1979:48) argues that 'the language of the Epic must overlap into everyday language so that it is comprehensible to the common man'. On the other hand, Pulgram (1950:459) states that regardless of intent or whether or not the writer has not conformed to certain acts or rules of grammar and spelling, the act of writing in Latin (whether for graffiti or literature), will not be a 'faithful rendering' of the speaker's words because the writer has learnt to write in Classical Latin, the literary language, and not in the vernacular.[4]

An effective framework for the study of language with reference to both linguistic and social factors has been developed by sociolinguists and expanded upon by the ecological perspective of ecolinguists. While I have adopted the sociolinguistic framework, with some additions of

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[4]The gap between the written and spoken forms of Latin is further discussed in Chapter Five.

an ecolinguistic perspective, to explore the relationship between social and linguistic factors in language change, I have been unable to reconcile the seemingly opposing views of pragmatic and grammatical theory with reference to word order. In the case of Warlpiri, for instance, the pragmatic and grammatical perspectives hold different views when it comes to configurationality. The pragmatic view, which interprets word order variation as an expression of different pragmatic roles, maintains that Warlpiri is configurational, whereas the grammatical view, which focuses upon the relative positioning of the major clausal constituents, regards Warlpiri as non-configurational. In the desire to give a well rounded perspective on word-order and the possibility of a shift in configurationality, I have tried to cover all points of view, including those of transformational generative grammarians, while adding a 'new' perspective - sociolinguistic. I have, however, indicated a personal preference for a descriptive typological study with the view that it may be more instructive about basic word order and linguistic change which may limit word order variability, such as a loss of inflectional suffixes. Furthermore, the boundary between semantics and syntax may also be difficult to define. With this in mind, I have tried to view syntax in relation to grammatical function rather than meaning.

A great deal has been written on language change, yet comparative studies on syntax are relatively rare. Although Posner (1966:166) noted more than thirty years ago, that 'no set methodological pattern has yet been established for comparative syntax - it is not even certain which elements are comparable and how to compare them', the debate on how best to conduct comparative studies are far from being resolved, as Smith's review of Comrie (1982), Comrie's reply (1983), and Smith's rejoinder (1983) confirm. Comrie's' (1983:95) attempt to integrate his results into 'a more accurate perspective on the range of variation that is found across languages' resulted in disagreement between 'typologists' and 'theorists' on a range of issues, ranging from whether deep structure or surface structure should be the focus of attention for a comparative study of syntax, to basic notions about word order frequencies.

There has been a lack of standardisation with core issues, even in cases where comparability across languages has been the main focus, such as in typological studies in creolisation and language development. As Winford (1996:71-2) notes, within a considerable number of

publications in creole studies there is no agreement of definitions in the terminology used to describe tense, mood, and aspect (TMA), thereby limiting the possibility of comparative studies and of 'profitable dialogue'. Moreover, not only do the definitions of terminology for TMA fail to conform within the field of creole linguistics itself, but they also fail to match those used by linguists outside of the field of creole linguistics.

Bearing in mind the lack of an effective framework with which to conduct a comparative study of syntax and the basic discord which pervades the area, I will conduct a comparative study of non-configurational languages by focusing upon not only linguistic change but also the sociolinguistic environment needed to sustain non-configurationality and any changes to that environment. I will do this by investigating the sociolinguistic and linguistic background of Latin and Warlpiri and to seek out those social factors which support non-configurationality. In the case of Latin I have relied on earlier studies and used it more as a comparative reference to the main part of this investigation, the Warlpiri case study. I have also relied heavily upon previous research on Warlpiri, but I was also fortunate enough to be able to spend some time at Yuendumu in 1997.

1.3 Outline of the remaining chapters

Chapter Two is a summary of my fieldwork undertaken at Yuendumu in 1997. Although it details my overall objectives in conducting the fieldwork, research difficulties and the two surveys conducted, it does not cover other aspects to my fieldwork such as informal discussions with residents about language related issues, and time spent simply observing language practice. The results of the surveys, the discussions and observations have been incorporated into Chapter Four, and in particular Chapter Four: Part 2.

Chapter Three is devoted to some background information on the traditional approaches to studying language change and some of the models used. Also, reference is made to change as a result of a contact situation. The final part of this chapter is devoted to typological shift and the background information necessary to understand such a shift.

Chapter Four, the Warlpiri case study, comprises the main part of the thesis. The main aim of this chapter is to make the link between linguistic and social change, and a shift in configurationality, and furthermore, to understand the social and linguistic ecology which sustains free word order in Warlpiri. Chapter Four: Part 1 provides some of the necessary background information for an investigation into language change for Warlpiri: the geographical location, traditional and contemporary contact language groups, and some background information on the Warlpiri language. In Chapter Four: Part 2, I provide the rationale for a sociolinguistic investigation into language change. I define my study with relation to Warlpiri at Yuendumu and outline the changes in situation and changes in speech events. In Chapter Four: Part 3, I provide a grammatical outline of the Warlpiri language and note some recent innovations. I then discuss whether or not Warlpiri is a non-configurational language. In support of the notion that Warlpiri is a non-configurational language, I investigate any signs of a shift in configurationality and possible reasons behind such a shift. Some reference is made to Bavin and Shopen's studies conducted at Yuendumu during the mid-1980's.

Chapter Five highlights the fact that, although Latin was a dominant and prestigious language, certain social factors either triggered a shift in the 'freedom' of word order, or exacerbated changes already underway. I list some of the language groups with which Latin speakers came into contact and some of the social and linguistic factors which accompanied the shift in configurationality.

In the conclusion, Chapter Six, I answer some of the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter. I note that there appears to be a preference for fixed word order, or configurational languages, that although change is frequently uni-directional it is occasionally cyclical, and finally that change is due to a complex range of external and internal factors. I suggest that non-configurational languages are inherently typologically vulnerable particularly in a contact situation, and that diverse social and linguistic factors are involved in typological change.

Chapter Two

WARLPIRI LANGUAGE: FIELD WORK

2.1 Overall objectives

- To note language growth, decline, and maintenance. To gauge the health of the Warlpiri language through observation of which language is being spoken, in what context, and by whom.
- To measure the effect of 'colonisation' and 'contact' upon Warlpiri society and language, to look at social change and change in speech use (e.g. change in the learning environment - formal: schooling, initiation, and informal: peer group).
- To examine the question: What are the social, political, spiritual, and economic benefits for people at Yuendumu to learn (a) English, and (b) Warlpiri?
- To test the hypothesis of typological vulnerability in a contact situation. To document any changes of word order by means of analysis of language data (IAD tapes, own tapes and texts).

2.2 Research difficulties

Eades (1991) notes that social differences lead to differences in communication strategies. For example, in contrast to urban Australia, traditional Aboriginal societies are relatively open and privacy is attained through verbal indirectness (Eades, 1991:87). Consequently, there are constraints on the use of questions, direct requests are rarely made, and the seeking and giving of reasons are generally carried out in an indirect manner (Eades 1991:87-8). Furthermore, silences are rarely negatively valued in Aboriginal conversations, which can mean that questions remain unanswered. Other communication strategies of traditional Aboriginal societies include, the cautious and circumspect expression of opinion, and the use of disclaimers with a preference for general discussions on a topic (Eades, 1991:89).

A number of communication strategies have been developed to deal with 'the directness of White interactions' (Eades 1991:91), including: 'gratuitous concurrence' saying 'yes' to keep the conversation flowing, rather than 'yes' in agreement; switching from an indirect style to a vociferous, confrontational style; and bicultural communicative competence (i.e. compromise).

Differences in communication strategies, such as indirectness, ambiguity, silence, and the desire for 'group harmony', can make it difficult to pursue linguistic research using traditional methods, such as direct questioning, and misunderstandings and misinformation can easily occur. These differences oblige a reconsideration of some of the methods of linguistic investigation, particularly when investigating the sociolinguistic aspects of an Australian Aboriginal language. For this reason, my research leans toward a more subjective point of view. I have divided my research into two main components: (a) spoken language: personal observation tempered with direct (language surveys) and 'indirect' (discussion groups) questions; and, (b) recorded language (texts, tapes and transcripts).

2.3 Warlpiri Language Survey March 1997

The aim of this survey[1] was to either confirm, or refute, personal observations as to where and how much Warlpiri and English is being spoken at Yuendumu, as well as the relative status and learning environment for each language.

The Warlpiri Language Survey is divided into five sections: question one deals with the domains in which Warlpiri is spoken by the survey participants; question two deals with the Warlpiri language learning environment; question three is concerned with the perceived status of Warlpiri; question four deals with language change; and question five is a group of extended questions concerning Warlpiri language and language use.

The sample group comprised teenage and young adult Warlpiri speakers living at Yuendumu who were students at the local school in the Post Primary and Senior Classes. It was assumed that the participants have basic literacy in both Warlpiri and English. When this was not the case, the survey was conducted verbally. In consideration of traditional beliefs, which do not allow the name of a recently deceased person's name to be uttered, I substituted these 'taboo' words with their culturally appropriate equivalent (e.g. 'Alice Springs' became 'Kumanjayi Springs').

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[1]Examples of both surveys are in Appendix I.

In conducting this survey with the Post Primary Boys group, some informants believed there was a right or a wrong answer to the questions, others felt unsure of what to do and therefore worked collaboratively with their neighbour or friend. Such collaborative efforts may not have necessarily distorted the truth between the speaker's perception of the language act and of the actual act itself, as it may be argued that the same peer group 'assistance' is also in force during the language act. Reading comprehension was a major problem for a few of the students and the survey, therefore, was conducted verbally.

The problems mentioned above were also apparent, but to a far lesser extent, when presenting this survey to the Post Primary and the Senior School Girls groups. This may have been because their English language skills were generally better and most of them completed the survey independently. However, their better English skills also meant that I did not observe them as closely as I had the Post Primary Boys group.

Other problems with the survey included: the word 'important' in question three because some of the participants were unsure of its intended meaning; question four which could have been better phrased as it required a certain consciousness about language use (perhaps more appropriate for students of linguistics than the uninitiated); and question five in which the intended audience, Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal, should have been specified. Also, the interference or influence of the person conducting the survey must also be taken into account.

In all, twenty surveys were completed, representing approximately 75% of the intended sample group: five by the Post Primary Boys; seven by the Post Primary Girls; and eight by the Senior School Girls. The interpretation of the results of this survey are subjective and intended to serve as an indication of sociolinguistic factors rather than as hard facts.

The average age of the survey participants was 14.7 years, with the ages ranging from 12-21 years. All participants (with one exception) considered themselves as having always lived at Yuendumu, even though their actual birth place might have been elsewhere (e.g., Alice Springs).

More than half of the participants (70%) said that they 'always' spoke Warlpiri at home and with their family, and half said that they 'always' spoke Warlpiri with their friends. Fifty percent of participants said that they 'sometimes' spoke Warlpiri at church, at school, and at the shop. Again, fifty percent said that they 'sometimes' spoke English at school, at the shop, at the clinic, with visitors, and in town (i.e. Alice Springs).

The results about Warlpiri language use were surprising, as my own observations indicated that a far greater amount of Warlpiri was being spoken at school, at the shop and with friends. Perhaps places such as the school and the shop are perceived as being English language domains, or the 'Warlpirisation' of Yuendumu is less successful than I, as a non-native speaker, realised. Results for English language use modestly supported my own observations, which were that English was mostly spoken at school, the clinic and in town centres, such as Alice Springs, particularly when interacting with non-Indigenous people.

As expected, it was at school that almost all students (85%) learnt to speak English, and to read and write both English and Warlpiri. Almost all students (90%) indicated that they believed it is important to be able to speak, read and write in both languages. A knowledge of English and Warlpiri were indicated as being very useful for understanding the respective cultures. Participants indicated that they considered that a knowledge of English would be helpful in getting an education and in gaining employment. Significantly, Warlpiri was not considered to be as helpful in these endeavours.

Seemingly contradictory, the majority of survey participants indicated that 'little kids' (i.e. preschoolers) and 'elders' speak the same way as they themselves do, but that they use different words. This response is open to several speculative interpretations which make this group of questions not very useful for establishing language change. However, it is interesting to note that the majority of participants felt that they did use English words when speaking Warlpiri and Warlpiri words when speaking English.[2]

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[2]See Chapter Four, section 4.7.4 for more information about code-switching.

The final part of the survey provides some indication as to the degree of exposure to English in daily life with regards to mass media. The majority of participants indicated that they watch or listen to the TV, radio, and music for the most part in English. Although there is some Warlpiri language in the mass media, it is relatively small by comparison to amount of English. English also seems to be the language of literature. Most participants indicated that they tend to communicate in Warlpiri person to person, but a marginally higher percent conducted letter writing and phone calls in English. When asked the question 'What language do you think in?' quite unexpectedly, a fairly evenly divided response between Warlpiri and English was given. (Which again may relate to the earlier point about consciousness of linguistic behaviour - what people say that they do, is very often at odds with what they actually do.)

The results of this survey confirmed that Warlpiri continues to be the first language of the residents at Yuendumu and together with English is spoken in a wide range of social contexts. It appears that for the most part, Warlpiri is the main language for communication between members of the Warlpiri community at Yuendumu, and it is used for personal and traditional topics discussed by family and friends, while English is the dominant language of administration, education and the media, and for communication purposes with non-Indigenous people. Also, the relative prestige of Warlpiri over English is noted in Bavin and Shopen's study (1985:81): 'But unlike other Aboriginal groups and many migrants in Australia, the Warlpiri people feel their language has more prestige than English and want to maintain it.' My findings do not necessarily support, or refute, this observation but rather indicate that each language has its own specific value. For instance, English is considered more important for employment prospects, while Warlpiri is considered to have more value as a symbol of identity and as the language associated with traditional and cultural matters.

2.4 Warlpiri Language Survey September 1997

The objective of this survey was to present speakers of Warlpiri with the task of interpreting and producing sentences in Warlpiri and English. From the results I noted any indications of a reliance upon word order for grammatical meaning, or of a preferred word order, such as a drop of inflectional endings (i.e. case), or the appearance of prepositions.

The Warlpiri Language Survey is divided into three sections. Sections I and II consist of sentences for translation, from Warlpiri into English and vice versa. Several points of grammar pertaining to configurationality were tested. Both transitive and intransitive verbs were used, as well as nouns and pronouns[3] for the subject and direct object. Word order was deliberately varied, mainly the relative position of the subject and direct object, and in selecting nouns and pronouns their likely inter-relationship was considered. Typically, I used sentences in which the nouns and pronouns were fairly equal in hierarchical order (or of equal status) such as: 'The woman sees the child.' and 'The child sees the woman.' In the reordering of the relative positions of subject and object, to have a boomerang throwing a man may test an understanding of semantics rather than morphology. The test sentences were intentionally kept simple in terms of grammar and vocabulary for two reasons. Firstly, because I did not wish to test literacy and secondly, because the relatively young age of the informants may have meant that their knowledge of Warlpiri may not yet be fully developed.[4] Section III of the survey was a series of ten drawings that required captions in Warlpiri. The drawings depicted scenes with which the informants were likely be familiar and which, with some luck, would require the use of transitive and intransitive verbs, subjects and direct objects.

The initial problems were those one typically faces 'in the field', including low informant numbers due to ceremonial business, family obligations, and the approaching holiday period. Problems directly related to the survey were: that there were too many sentences for translation (many had difficulty finishing in the allotted time of one hour); poor literacy skills restricted some informants (this was overcome as before by conducting the 'test' verbally); and the formality of the exercise probably prohibited spontaneous language data, even in the verbal tests. (It must be kept in mind that formal and informal speech events are often accompanied by different sets of grammar.) Writing captions to the drawings proved far more successful than the translation of sentences. However one drawing (# 9), did not generate the type of response I had been seeking (i.e. 'The man is speaking to the woman.' but rather 'A

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[3]For a table of Warlpiri pronouns and pronominal clitics see Chapter Four, section 4.9.
[4]Not all differences in the language of children to that of adult speakers imply language change, rather incomplete language socialisation.

man and a woman are speaking.') and would have to be modified slightly if the exercise were to be repeated.

Section I: translation from Warlpiri into English. At first glance there seemed to be a greater reliance upon word order in sentences where both the subject and direct object were of 'equal status'. For example, the following sentence was provided for translation in two different configurations.

Maliki-rli	ka	nantuwu-ø	nyanyi.	The dog sees the horse.
dog-erg	*aux.*	*horse-abs.*	*to see (pres.)*[5]	
(a) Malikirli	ka	nantuwu	nyanyi.	
S		dir.O	trans.V	
(b) Nantuwu	ka	malikirli	nyanyi.	
dir.O		S	trans.V	

Sentence (b) was invariably translated as 'The horse sees the dog'. This apparent mistranslation may be an example of English lexicon being used, with Warlpiri syntax applied, to produce the intended meaning 'The dog sees the horse'. Yet, in sentences in which the subject and object are of 'unequal' status', despite an inverted subject-object word order, they were translated or expressed correctly according to English lexicon and syntax. For example, the following sentence was presented with inverted subject-object word order.

Karli-ø	ka	wati-ngki	kijirni.	The man is throwing the boomerang.
boomerang-abs.	*aux.*	*man-erg.*	*to throw (pres.)*	
(c) Karli	ka	watingki	kijirni.	
dir.O		S	trans.V	

However, as can be seen in the following section (i.e. Section II) where Warlpiri case endings are generally well maintained, reliance upon word order and the apparent disregard for case endings may not be the reason for the apparent 'mistranslation' of sentences such as (b) and further testing involving the speakers 'acting out' or otherwise illustrating the action of the transitive verb may prove to be more informative that written exercises alone. Also, the

[5]Abbreviations are listed in Appendix II.

inclusion of 'nonsensical' sentences such as 'The boomerang is throwing the man.' may have been useful for the testing of case comprehension.

Section II: translation from English into Warlpiri. Those informants confident in writing and speaking Warlpiri, used both the dative and ergative case endings with the appropriate verb type. Other case endings such as locative and allative were maintained and there was no evidence of post- or pre- positions occurring[6]. The dative pronominal clitics were added to the auxiliary but more than one pronoun in a sentence seemed to cause some confusion and either the clitic was omitted or the incorrect clitic used. Pronouns were generally given in both their independent and clitic forms, and the word order pattern was invariably SVO. The care taken to include endings when writing in Warlpiri by the informants does not support the notion that there is a drop in case suffixes and a reliance upon word order. However, further testing involving the translation of texts would probably prove more fruitful than isolated sentences.

Section III: captions to drawings. The results in this section were similar to those in Section II. They also provided some interesting examples of synonyms, for example: *pumarangki* for *karli*: boomerang,[7] and *turaki*, *mutukayi*: car.

The varied levels of literacy competence of the informants were in part balanced by the verbal administration of the tests. Initial impressions indicate that: case endings are generally well maintained by the younger generation of Warlpiri speakers; pragmatic order may account for the relative position of the subject and indirect object; and, the medial positioning of the verb may be due to the influence of English word order, either as a result of syntactic transference or universals of language change favouring SVO word order.[8] More discussion on changes to the Warlpiri language and possible reasons for change can be found in Chapter Four.

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[6]There were two instances in which the dual '-jarra' and one instance in which the case suffix '-wana' (along) were written as separate words. The separation of '-wana' (along) may be an example of the development of postpositions or alternatively an indication of a spelling convention. Further investigation would be necessary to clarify this issue.

[7]Some time ago the word *karli* (boomerang) became *kumanjayi* and therefore taboo, consequently, the borrowed 'English' word came into use. Although the word is no longer kumanjayi, 'pumarangki' is often still used.

[8]See Chapter Three, section 3.5.3 re: universals and word order.

2.5 Tentative conclusions drawn from the survey results

The situation of Warlpiri at Yuendumu may be described as 'stable bilingualism' with a 'complex diglossic situation'. The 'diglossic situation' at Yuendumu is complex because there is a high incidence of code-switching between the two languages, rather than a strict separation of the use of English or Warlpiri according to context and/or content. This high incidence of code-switching may be an indication of language shift, and the degree to which bilingualism at Yuendumu will remain stable, will be perhaps best understood by looking at the linguistic repertoire of the next generations. With regards to the status or prestige of English and Warlpiri, there are significant social, economic and political benefits of knowing English in mainstream Australian society. In contrast, the benefits of knowing Warlpiri are perceived as high in terms of its social and spiritual values.

Reflected within the structure of the Warlpiri language is the immense social change the Warlpiri people have undergone since contact with non-Indigenous people (e.g. missionaries, government representatives, and pastoralists). Although, the basic grammatical structure of Warlpiri has been fairly well maintained, there has been significant borrowing from English, and a decrease in the complexity of the grammar and in the variation of word order. If the social factors which support language maintenance, such as transmission of language to succeeding generations, complete linguistic socialisation, and a wide range of domains for language use, are maintained, then I would expect Warlpiri to remain a viable and healthy language at Yuendumu. Continued and increasing literacy in Warlpiri for its speakers, would help to maintain the morphological structure necessary to support non-configurationality and it would also provide a possible context for the expression of free word order (e.g. poetry). However, continued and increasing social and linguistic change as a result of contact with non-Indigenous speakers of English and the overall dominance of English language, may result in an increase in the incidence of code-switching, in the possibility of syntactic transference, and in the complete removal of the social and linguistic structures which support non-configurationality, resulting in a shift in Warlpiri from a free word order to a fixed word order language.

Chapter Three

LANGUAGE CHANGE

Language change has been characterised as universal, continuous, and relatively regular (Lyons 1992:179). It can occur at varying rates and in two distinct ways, change from within, that is internal change, and change from without, due to external factors. Internal change is often related to language growth and is most often a gradual process. On the other hand, external change is often the consequence of, or motivated by, a contact situation resulting in social, cultural and linguistic change. In this instance, language change may be gradual or rapid. Finally, language change can be the result of deliberate acts of planning.

Change will result in either the expansion or contraction of the linguistic system. There is a limit however, to the degree in which a language can expand or contract and still function efficiently. Lee (1987:357) notes Slobin's (1977) four basic 'ground rules' to which a communication system must adhere 'if it is to function as a "full-fledged human language"'. Basically, these rules state that a language must be clear, humanly processable in ongoing time, quick and easy, and expressive.

Language change may also be transient, as in the case where an individual speaker deviates from the 'norm' for the purpose of stylistic effect, or it be may more lasting. In this chapter, I will not look at transient change, but rather at the type of change which becomes an established part of a linguistic system. Mindful that the focus of my investigation is the shift of a non-configurational language to a configurational one, I shall begin by briefly noting some of the methods used to reconstruct language history and relationships, and the models used to illustrate them, the family tree model and the wave model. These models have been frequently employed to illustrate the history of Latin and the Romance languages. Next, I shall note some of the views on how internal and external language change occurs, including the processes of borrowing and shift. Then I will look at some of the social and linguistic factors that may affect a language's susceptibility to interference and change. Finally, I will note some of the ways in which language has been categorised according to word order and morphological typology, universals associated with word order and factors associated with a

shift in configurationality. This chapter will serve as a discussion of preliminary matters before investigating the possible loss of freedom in Latin and Warlpiri word order.

3.1 Reconstruction

Language reconstruction tracks the path of linguistic change to the 'ancestral form' of a particular language. Reconstruction is a useful tool for those interested in historical linguistics but whose investigation is impeded by a lack of historical evidence. There are two main methods of reconstruction: 'internal' and 'comparative'. Both methods reconstruct a language through investigation into phonological and grammatical distribution, using the known processes of change to account for any peculiarities.

Although internal reconstruction is useful for hypothesising what an earlier stage of a particular language might have been, it is limited in that it generally draws its data from a single language (Wardhaugh,1977:188). The comparative method compares linguistic forms in related languages in order to reconstruct a hypothetical proto-language. This method relies 'mainly on phonological evidence, a knowledge of possible kinds of phonological change, and the principle of the systematic nature of such change' (Wardhaugh 1977:190). Lyons (1992:200-201) notes two problems with the comparative method. That it:

> *... operates on the assumption that each member of a family of related languages is in a direct line of descent from the proto-language and has been unaffected, throughout this time, by contact with other related languages and dialects,*

and also that,

> *... the reconstructed language system is likely to be, not only morphologically more regular, but also dialectally more uniform than any actual language-system.*

The comparative method offers two models of language change, the 'family tree model' and 'the wave model'.

3.1.1 The family tree model

The family tree model delineates genetic relationships among languages. It is based on the assumption that a single uniform 'parent' suddenly splits into a number of 'daughter' languages which then develop in virtual isolation from one another to become yet another 'parent' language (Bloomfield 1950:310). The notion of a single parent limits this model to those languages which are unmixed. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:3) note that for languages which are thought to share a common genetic linguistic history, 'the family tree model of diversification and genetic relationship remains the main reference point of comparative-historical linguistics'.[1] However in many instances (e.g. Indigenous Australian languages), it can be difficult to explicitly demonstrate that languages share a common genetic linguistic history (Dixon 1980:19-21).

However, even for languages which share a genetic linguistic history there are problems in the application of the family tree model. Thurston (1987:94) notes that this model has been used to describe how Latin spread across Europe which then dissolved, along with the Roman Empire, and was followed by the emergence of the Romance languages. Evidence suggests, however, that the actual moment of separation of Latin into the Romance language would not have been as abrupt as the family tree model implies but rather a more gradual and continuous process. In other words, the Romance languages are really modern Latin.

> *What produces the illusion of discontinuity ... is the coincidence of several factors, including, on the one hand, gaps in the historical record between identifiable periods and, on the other, the relative stability in literary languages over quite long stretches of time. (Lyons 1992:183)*

Another criticism against the family tree model is that it assumes that speech communities are isolated and homogenous (Bloomfield 1950:311, Thurston 1987:94). A cursory look at almost any contemporary speech community refutes the notion of a uniform speech community by the prevalence of dialects and the variation of boundaries. Also change does not necessarily occur in isolation. There are a number of similarities in the Romance languages as a result of underlying drift from Latin causing the languages to change in similar ways, also certain

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[1]For an illustration of the family tree model see Figure 5.3, Chapter Five.

similarities between related languages may not be a consequence of their common origin (i.e. from a 'parent' language). In French and Italian, for example, similar changes to both languages appear to have occurred after they were already well established and differentiated (Bloomfield 1950:314).

This model also assumes that language is uniform. Unlike written texts, spoken language displays great variation. As Lyons (1992:184) observes, 'no living language is completely uniform'. Lyons (1992:186) also notes the limitations of the family tree model as he states:

> *... the conventional family-tree-diagram of language-relatedness tends to oversimplify the facts, if not to distort them completely, by failing to give recognition to the phenomena of convergence and diffusion and by representing language relatedness as being the result of necessary and continuous divergence.*

Despite these limitations, the family tree model continues to be used to illustrate language relationships because it provides a simple and clear overview of language 'family groups'. The model is not useful however, to illustrate language change due to contact with languages of different grammatical systems or different genetic histories.

3.1.2 The wave model

The wave model organises languages into groups of those sharing the greatest number of features and illustrates a language as comprised of different overlapping dialects. Johannes Schmidt (1843-1901) notes that similarities between languages were found in those which were geographically closest. He postulated that linguistic change can spread wavelike over speech communities and that 'the result of successive waves will be a network of isoglosses' (Bloomfield 1950:317). Figure 3.1 illustrates the simplest form of the wave model as depicted by Bailey (1973:68). In this instance, linguistic waves spread out from the centre and each isolect is a successively later development (ie. lect C implies lect B, implies lect A).

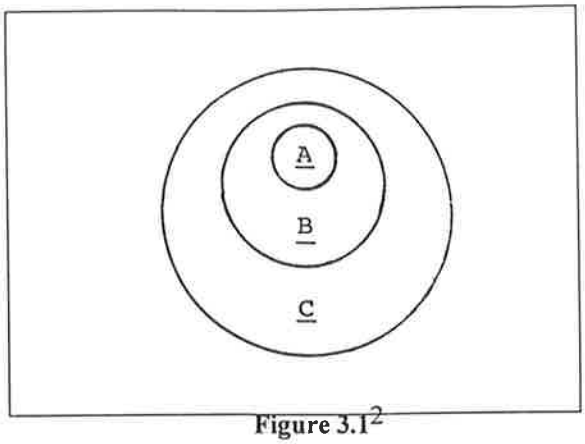

Figure 3.1[2]

Successive uneven waves of language change may result in neighbouring languages that resemble one another as a result of common language change which occurred after the languages had already differentiated (Bloomfield 1950:317). This may be represented by what Bailey (1973:99-100) refers to as an 'idealised scheme of the overlapping of competing waves' in which lect C stems from B by way of reordering (see Figure 3.2). In this diagram only lect A has rule 1, all other letters have rules 1 and 2. Lect B has the ordering of rules 1-2 and lect D the ordering of rules 2-1. Lect C, although it comes from B, has reordering of rules, that is from 1-2 to 2-1. Therefore, lect C has the same ordering of rules as lect D but it reached that point from a different direction.

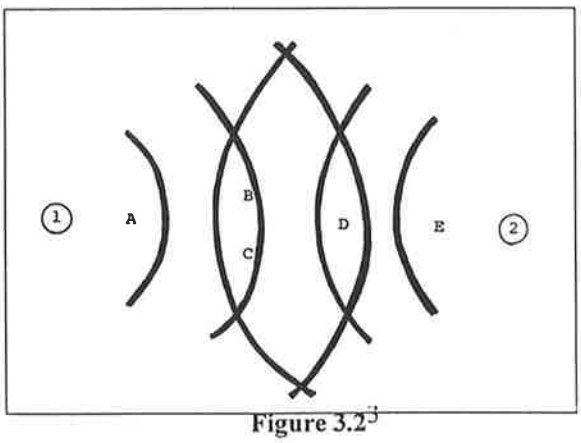

Figure 3.2[3]

Although the wave model takes into account that speech communities are not isolated and homogenous, 'most researchers have found it harder to work with a fluid 'wave' model than with a static 'family tree' model, because the variables are much more difficult to control' (Wardhaugh 1977:194).

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[2]See, Bailey (1973:68).
[3]See, Bailey (1973:99-100).

3.2 Internal change

As already mentioned internal change tends to be a gradual process. As language is passed on from one generation to the next it may do so with relatively small degrees of change already incorporated into the language, or as the result of imperfect acquisition. Certain points of view about the way change occurs, draw upon metaphors from nature. Two of the metaphors used to describe how language change occurs are the 'catastrophic view' and 'chronic infection'. It may be useful to note at this point that words used to describe language change often carry negative connotations. A catastrophe would not be welcomed by many and a chronic infection neither suggests recovery, nor a change for the better. However, language change, or growth, is a vital part of language survival. The speed and the degree of change is perhaps a greater threat than change itself.

3.2.1 The catastrophic view

The parameters of 'linguistic catastrophe' are on the one end, a sudden change brought about by external pressure, such as dramatic upheaval of the speaker group (e.g. invasive contact which leads to creolisation, or a natural disaster which radically alters the speaker group population), and at the other end, a sudden change as a result of internal pressure. The 'catastrophic view' as proposed by Thom (1973) and refined by Vennemann (1974), proposes that a series of gradual changes occur within a system until a 'breaking point' is reached resulting in a sudden and dramatic change to the linguistic system (see Aitchison 1979:45-46). For example, a gradual change in inflectional morphology may result in a sudden change to the freedom of word order. Contraction and/or assimilation of morphemes can lead to the gradual loss of word endings which is particularly significant in a language where grammatical function is indicated through suffixes rather than word order. The contraction or assimilation of morphemes may be the consequence of speakers leaning toward ease of pronunciation and economy of expression (Wardhaugh 1977:213). This notion is also supported by Thurston (1987:36) who adds that within intragroup communication the contraction and assimilation of morphemes facilitate the speed and pronunciation of words. In such a case, the gradual loss of suffixes may lead to a sudden change in the freedom of word order and the shift of a non-configurational to a configurational language.

3.2.2 Chronic infection

The notion of 'chronic infection' proposes that 'one relatively insignificant change follows another with no definite crisis point' (Aitchison 1979:46). For example, a gradual 'leaking' of change may spread throughout the linguistic system, beginning in the main clause and 'leaking' through to the subordinate clauses. Different word orders for the main and subordinate clauses in Modern Standard German for instance may indicate that it is a language in transition and provide an example of change through chronic infection (Aitchison 1991:161).

As Aitchison (1979:47) notes 'the distinction between a catastrophe and infection may not be clear cut', and overcomes this problem by dividing the 'catastrophic view' into two types.

> *(a) True catastrophe: a build-up of pressure, followed by a short period of upheaval. The basic word order change and the changes in the related 'harmonic' constructions occur rapidly.*
>
> *(b) Catastrophe with slow recovery: a build-up of pressure, which results in a major upheaval, followed by a relatively slow tidying up process.*

A third point of view, the process of infiltration and snowballing (Naro & Lemle 1976), lies somewhere between the notion of catastrophe and chronic infection (see Aitchison 1979:62). In this instance, changes to the linguistic system occur in a discrete fashion eventually escalating toward inevitable change.

3.3 External interference and language change

When speakers of different languages or dialects come into contact with one another, a variety of strategies are employed to facilitate communication. The consequences of these strategies vary according to social and linguistic factors associated with the contact situation: new languages may arise as with pidgins and creoles, dialect leveling may occur as with Koine in the Mediterranean, one language may be promoted as the lingua franca such as in the case of Latin, or a multilingual situation may arise as in the Pacific region.

3.3.1 Speech communities

In order to discuss what happens when languages come into contact with one another it is important to identify the 'speaker groups' or 'speech communities'. The concept of 'speech community', however, implies that there is a homogenous group of people speaking a homogenous language. But just as there is a great deal of language variation within a speech community itself, there is a great deal of variation in the boundaries and in the membership of the community. A speech community therefore, may be difficult to define.

Also in the Australian context, the notion of a speech community poses several problems. As Romaine (1991:18) observes, 'social networks and linguistic communities do not overlap in the Aboriginal view of language'. For example, language boundaries or groupings according to their local names may contradict linguistic definition. Sutton (1991:51) notes that several Australian languages are referred to by the same name by its speakers, but are linguistically defined as separate languages (eg. Malak Malak).

Speech community membership may also be a complex matter and not easily identified or defined from an external observer's perspective, and although many Aboriginal people are multilingual 'they assert a primary affiliation' for a given language (Sutton 1991:53). Sometimes however, these rules are disregarded, and a non-unique affiliation may occur, in which an individual will have membership in more than one language community. Also, even though a speaker may not use a language, or they may have little contact with other speakers of the same language, they may claim ownership of it. The difficulty of defining a 'speech community' in the Australian context is summarised by Sutton (1991:66) who states that:

> *Defining Aboriginal linguistic regionality effectively only in terms of topography and customary land tenure or place of residence is about as useless in an explanatory context as simply defining urban dialects in terms of their speakers' annual income or job description.*

With certain limitations, however, the notion of 'speech community' remains a useful one for the purpose of defining boundaries for linguistic investigation. Perhaps the best solution is to look at language use within a particular community, conscious that the boundaries are fluid and temporary, and have been established for the sake of research and analysis alone. With

this in mind, de Vries' definition of 'speech community' may be helpful. He suggests that 'membership in a language community is determined in terms of "regular language usage" (usually) descent and (usually) self-ascription' (de Vries 1986:28).

3.3.2 Languages in contact

While isolation (i.e. geographical, political, or social) generally impedes language change, contact usually facilitates it (Thurston 1987:94). The consequences of contact, through borrowing and/or shift, may range from the borrowing of foreign words to a complete restructuring of the grammatical system. It may result in the development of a new language (creolisation) or the loss of an existing one (language death). Terms such as 'simplification' and 'reduction' (impoverishment) are often employed to described the processes of linguistic change in a contact situation. 'Simplification' refers to an increase in the regularity of a language, typically where languages are learnt in a contact situation by adults, and 'reduction' refers to actual loss in some part of the language, often as result of restriction in use (Trudgill 1983:110-114). Simplification and reduction may also occur 'with cost' when accompanied by a certain amount of syntactic complexity or when the loss is compensated elsewhere (e.g. synthetic replaced by analytic forms) (Trudgill 1983:110-114).

Contact between languages can be direct, that is interaction among speakers, or indirect, as in the form of literature or mass media. The type and degree of contact possible, varies considerably and is dependent upon a wide range of sociolinguistic variables. At one end of the scale, contact can be between speakers of relatively equal social status whose language is based upon a similar grammatical system. This type of contact usually leads to linguistic exchange, and possibly includes the replacement of existing structures (i.e. 'reduction with cost' - see above) (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:63). Contact of this type does not necessarily result in the simplification or complication of a linguistic system but may contribute to its maintenance.

A contact situation between groups where there is no overall dominance of one group over another, or any large scale shift, results in what is generally called a 'sprachbund' situation. This is a multilingual situation on a multilateral scale. Long term sprachbund can lead to

isomorphism (equivalence of form) in all areas of structure except for the phonological shapes of morphemes (i.e. similar grammar, different morphemes), for example the Western Desert languages of Australia.

At the other end of the scale, contact can be between speakers of differing or unequal social status using different linguistic systems. Typically, the result is the domination of one language at the expense of another. Contact of this type generally leads to marked change which either simplifies or complicates the linguistic system. In fact, if reinterpretation or generalization has occurred, the changed aspects of a language may not even be identical to features of the donor language (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:63-4).

3.3.3 Borrowing

Borrowing refers to 'the adoption of features which differ from the main tradition' (Bloomfield 1933:444). Moreover, it is 'the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features' (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:37). Usually, the 'foreign' feature initially incorporated into a group's native language is lexical. Often these 'borrowed' words are treated as word stems and the necessary affixes of the speaker group's language are attached. For example, the verb 'play' has been incorporated into Warlpiri language with the Warlpiri intransitive verb suffix '-jarrimi' attached to it (*play-jarrimi*: to play). The incorporation of lexicon may occur with or without a bilingual situation between the contact groups. Other structural features such as phonological, phonetic and syntactic elements may be borrowed as well, but for this to occur, contact between speaker groups is usually over a long period of time and with a high level of bilingualism achieved (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:37). The various degrees of contact from light (or casual) to heavy (or intense) generally affects the extent to which borrowing occurs.

Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:65-109) provide an in depth look at the type of borrowing that occurs according to the degree of contact, which I will now summarise. Typically, in a casual contact situation only lexical borrowing occurs, with non-basic vocabulary preceding basic vocabulary. As the degree of contact increases function words such as conjunctions and

adverbial phrases may also be borrowed and there may be some structural borrowing as well. More intense contact results in the increased borrowing of basic vocabulary such as, adpositions or inflectional affixes on loan words and personal and demonstrative pronouns. The beginning of a shift in basic word order may also be evident. If contact is accompanied by strong cultural pressure, moderate structural borrowing may occur but with relatively little typological change overall. For example, there may be increasing interference on the phonology and morphology of the speaker group's language. The final category mentioned by Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) is a contact situation with very strong cultural pressure. The consequence of which usually results very heavy structural borrowing leading to typological change.

This summary provides an idealised outline of borrowing, for which there are numerous counter examples (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:65-109). The order of borrowing may also vary according to each set of circumstances. Furthermore, structural interference does not necessarily imply that lexical borrowing or that phonological interference has also occurred. For example, external interference may take place through contact with the written form of a language such as Latin or Sanskrit (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:38). In the case of Latin, 'literary' contact has shaped the grammatical structure of English without phonological interference.

3.3.4 Shift

The process of 'shift' refers to a situation where 'a group of speakers shifting to a target language fails to learn the target language (TL) perfectly. The errors made by members of the shifting group in speaking the TL then spread to the TL as a whole when they are imitated by the original speakers of that language' (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:39). If the shifting group initiates change in the target language of a socially dominant group it is referred to as 'substratum influence'. If, on the other hand, the shifting group is socially dominant and initiates change in the subordinate group's language, then it is referred to as a 'superstratum influence'.[4]

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[4]See Chapter Five, section 5.2.

The speed of the shift will usually affect the degree of substratum, or superstratum, features that enter a language. If the shift is slow, taking several generations, and the substratum speakers have the opportunity to become bilingual, then the degree of substratum influence will be low or light. However, if the speed of shift is rapid and only partial bilingualism occurs, there will be a high degree of substratum interference. Light to moderate substratum interference generally results in syntactic and phonetic change (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:121). Where there is moderate to heavy interference there is some structural interference without disruption to the 'genetic continuity' (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:129). The result of such interference may be a simplification of the grammatical system, replacement which neither complicates or simplifies the system, or linguistic change which complicate the system (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:129-131).

There are certain problems in trying to ascertain whether or not shift has taken place. Shift may leave no traces in a target language, especially when the shifting group is small in number or the shift occurs over a long period of time (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:119). There may also be a lack of sociolinguistic evidence because the process of shift most often results in the loss of the shifting group's language, and there may be little or no historical evidence of the target language before the shift occurred (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:111). Another problem is that light to moderate interference through shift may be difficult to distinguish from internally motivated changes. (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:114). However, a lack of obviously borrowed lexicon may serve as an indication that language shift has occurred. With shift, unlike a borrowing situation where lexical borrowing typically precedes structural, change usually begins at the structural level with sounds and syntax (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:114), but as I noted earlier, there are exceptions to the order of borrowing.

It can be difficult to establish whether linguistic change is internally or externally motivated, and it is possible that such change may be the result of both internal and external influences. Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:131) suggest that change which complicates a grammatical system and for which it is difficult to find any internal cause, is due to external interference. Also, 'the presence of noninherited universally marked features' in one of two languages known to have been in contact with one another is another indication that there has been

external motivation for change (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:114). However, a contact situation is not the only explanation for external interference. Deliberate acts of planning may also be responsible for change in any structural aspect of a language, for example, the introduction of 'clicks' at the phoneme level. Similarly, esoteric languages, or registers, are also the result deliberate acts of language planning. For instance, in the case of the antinomy language of the Warlpiri people, a male initiation esoteric language, there has not been a natural shift across both genders of speakers.

3.4 Sociolinguistic factors contributing to language change

The degree and type of language change that may occur, is the result of a number of social and linguistic factors that may facilitate or impede interference. Therefore, in order to understand language contact, interference and change, it is necessary to consider and investigate both the social and linguistic environment of a contact situation and to look at the linguistic, social, psychological and historical reasons behind change.

3.4.1 Social factors

> *It is the sociolinguistic history of the speakers, and not the structure of their language, that is the primary determinant of the linguistic outcome of language contact. (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988:35)*

Social factors may prove more significant than linguistic ones when looking at language change as a result of a contact situation. The reason being that it is the primary forces which act upon the speakers of a language, that shape their language. As Nelde (1986:36) observes, 'language contact and conflict occurs between speakers not the language'. Furthermore, as Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:35) point out, it is social factors which determine the direction, extent and type of contact that will occur between speaker groups. This is not to underestimate the role of linguistic factors, such as the role of typological fit, but that linguistic barriers are usually able to be overcome by emotional and/or psychological incentives (Whinnom 1971:93-4). Significant social factors affecting contact include, intensity of contact, size of speaker numbers, and the perceived prestige of one of the contact languages.

Intensity of contact refers to the availability of a target or contact language. Whinnom (1971:92-3) refers to the intensity of contact as the 'ecological barrier to hybridization'.[5] The ecological barrier is concerned with the extent, nature and intensity of contact affected by the geographical, social, economic, political and cultural distance of the languages in contact. For example, if the target language is not fully available, due to political or social reasons, then the possibility of imperfect learning and substratum influence is increased (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:47). Furthermore, the unsuccessful acquisition of a target language may result in abrupt creolization, especially for an isolated group (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:48). On the other hand, however, if there is a great deal of pressure for speakers to learn a target language and if it is fully available to the shifting group, there will be a rapid shift, eventually resulting in the death of the shifting group's language. With reference to the availability or the unsuccessful acquisition of a target language, Baker (1990) notes that speakers may deliberately chose not to acquire native speaker fluency in a target language, and that:

> *the real, if unconscious target of participants was the development of a medium for interethnic communication (MFIC). What I am suggesting is that participants created a new language, suited to their immediate interethnic needs, and that they subsequently expanded and adapted this as their growing or changing needs demanded, drawing at all times on the resources available. (Baker 1990:111)*

Subcategories of intensity of contact include length of time of contact and the level of bilingualism achieved. The length of time of contact may be fleeting, or limited in the context of trade or employment. The greater the length of time of contact the greater the opportunity for language change and/or exchange. As the time of contact increases so does the possibility for bilingualism to occur, and also for non-basic words and structural features to be borrowed. Extensive bilingualism generally leads to substantial structural borrowing. As Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:52) report 'all the borrowing cases we have studied that have resulted in significant structural interference involve full (perfect) bilingualism among some or all borrowing-language speakers'.

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[5]In this context 'hybridization' refers to the new language formed as a result of contact between two 'distinct species' of language. See Whinnom (1971).

Another social factor which affects a contact situation is the relative size of the speaker group. Possible variations of speaker group size include: a small dominant and a large subordinate group; a large dominant and a small subordinate group; or groups of relatively equal size. As mentioned earlier, a relatively small shifting speaker group may have little impact on a target language and the language shift will be rapid. It may, however, be difficult to define a minority speaker group. While, demographically speaking, a minority group may be seen as constituting less than 50% of the population, reliance upon statistical data to define a minority group may fail to provide an accurate picture. It may be more useful therefore, to look at group size within a sociolinguistic context. De Vries (1986:28), for example, defines a minority as when 'a group of speakers operate in a sphere of a language not of their own'. Furthermore, Thurston (1987:36) notes that if the language spoken by the larger group seems to have wider currency and both languages occupy the same functional niche, 'it is likely that the smaller group language is doomed to extinction'. This would hold true for both a shifting and borrowing situation. However, there are a number of counter-examples. Flemish in Belgium, Allemanich in Switzerland, and Afrikaans in South Africa, are all examples where the language of the relatively smaller speaker group is 'artificially' maintained by a number of factors, including social, cultural, political, and/or economical. Furthermore, as in the case where a number of small groups speaking diverse languages have been able to co-exist (e.g. the Wik languages of Northern Australia), a well balanced linguistic ecology will also help to maintain the languages of relatively smaller speaker groups in a contact situation with larger speaker groups (e.g. Papua New Guinea) (Mühlhäusler 1997:5-6). Indeed, from an ecolinguistic perspective, when investigating language change in a contact situation it is not the 'absolute number of diverse inhabitants, but the links between them which are important' (Mühlhäusler 1997:5).

Relatively large, or equal size, speaker groups, in either a borrowing or shift situation, may experience slow change and have a greater impact on the other contact language. This is because a relatively large speaker group provides a wide range of functional contexts for the sub-dominant or shifting group's language to be maintained. Also, if the shifting group is relatively large in number the target language (TL) may not be 'fully available to all its members, then imperfect learning is a probability, and the learners' errors are more likely to

spread throughout the TL speech community' (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:47).[6] As Dorian (1973:24) notes, the reduced use of a language will also lead to a reduced structure, which may be compensated by structural borrowing. A large speaker group also provides a sufficient number of fluent speakers to transfer linguistic information across generations.

The prestige attached to a language may also affect the degree of borrowing or the direction of shift. Significantly, the attitude of both language groups plays a major role in the perception of what constitutes a prestigious language. Whinnom (1971:93-4) refers to the prestige factor as the 'ethological/emotional barrier', in which he contrasts those who are resistant to foreign language input with those who are vulnerable.

The direction of borrowing is usually from the dominant (e.g. the politically and/or economically powerful group), to the subordinate group (e.g. the politically and/or economically less powerful group), and the direction of shift is usually from the subordinate to the dominant group. Furthermore, as the language of the dominant group is often viewed as prestigious, it is less likely that the dominant group will become bilingual in the subordinate group's language. There are, however, exceptions to this direction of language borrowing and shift which are noted in Thomason and Kaufmann (1988:44). For example, the French language in England, where the shifting group was dominant.

3.4.2 Linguistic factors

Generally, linguistic constraints are able to be overcome by social factors. The degree of social pressure, however, is relative to the type of linguistic constraint that it is able to overcome. For example, it is unlikely that weak social pressure would overcome less easily transferable linguistic structures, such as morphology.

Linguistic factors which influence the type and degree of language change in a contact situation may be viewed as either constraints or facilitators of that change. Interference in a

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[6]Again, as Baker (1990) notes 'imperfect' learning of a target language may be a deliberate choice.

grammatical system, as a result of a contact, can lead to a number of possible outcomes including: a loss of categories which may lead to a simplification of the structural system; new categories which may complicate the structural system; and no overall change in the system, thereby keeping its original balance (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:51). Furthermore, the possible outcomes of contact between two languages, with reference to an increase or decrease in the naturalness of the linguistic system, may vary according to the following parameters: developing - developed systems, and system - sub-system (Mühlhäusler 1985:56-8).

With regards to borrowing, lexicon is more easily transferred than morphology, and the order of borrowing is usually: lexicon, phonology, syntax and finally, morphology.[7] This order is supported by Markey's (1987:4) perspective who, in citing 'Dauzat's Law', contends that lexicon is the most exposed to influence, then come sounds and syntax, while morphology, 'the fortress of language surrenders last'. However, other studies provide counter-examples and suggest that morphology is able to be borrowed relatively freely (Mühlhäusler 1987:488).

Within this parameter of borrowing there are also sub-parameters of transferability as in the case of basic and non-basic lexical borrowing, for example, the names of food are more easily borrowed than place names (see Figure 3.3). Basic lexical borrowing can occur with minimal contact while non-basic vocabulary usually requires extended contact (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:77).

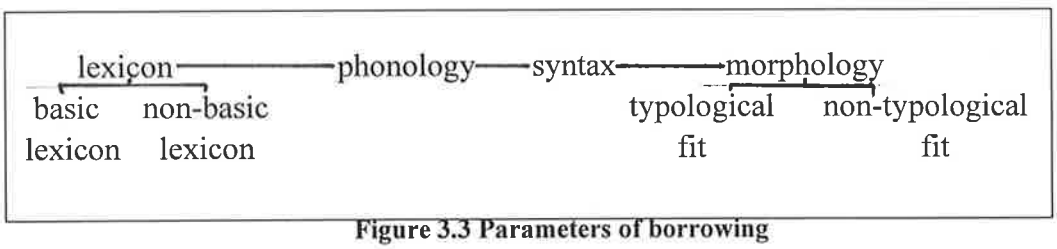

Figure 3.3 Parameters of borrowing

At the other end of the scale is the sub-parameter typological fit. The structural features of one language are more easily accepted into another if the structural features of the languages in

[7]See Comrie (1989:209-210) for implicational universals with reference to borrowing.

contact are compatible, or if the languages are less highly structured (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:73). For example, dialectal interference leading to structural replacement may result in levelling. Structurally incompatible languages may also be subject to a 'conceptual barrier', in which case the first language acquired will act as a sort of 'biological' barrier against languages that are structurally incompatible (Whinnom 1971:96-97). However, evidence suggests that regardless of typological fit structural features are borrowed, especially syntax, in situations where heavy borrowing is occurring (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:53). And as Mühlhäusler (1985: 76) notes, barriers against borrowing may be 'relative to the linguistic systems in contact' (i.e. developed v. developing systems)[8] and furthermore that, mixing at one level of grammar (e.g. lexicon) is likely to influence other levels of grammar (e.g. syntax, or morphology) (Mühlhäusler 1985:58-9 & 1987:484).

While morphology may be the least likely to be borrowed, word order seems to the most likely syntactic feature to be borrowed or acquired in language shift. Thomason & Kaufmann (1988:55) note that in their investigations there are more cases of syntactic borrowing to replace morphology than the reverse and suggest that this may be a possible cause for the high number of SVO and SOV languages. The replacement of a morphological feature by a syntactic one will usually follow one of the following patterns based upon typological considerations. If both languages are morphologically based, then replacement will occur. If the source language is syntactically based and the recipient morphological, then the recipient language will use syntactic expressions. But, if the source language is morphologically based and the recipient syntactic, then it is less likely that morphology will replace syntax. One reason suggested for this, is that morphology is more difficult to learn. However, in a morphological system that is more easily segmentable, such as in an agglutinative language, the morpheme affixes are more likely to be borrowed or separated than in the case of a language whose morphology is fusional. Examples where morphology has been borrowed include Ma'a (Mbugu) which adopted a Bantu inflectional system, and Yiddish which

[8]A 'developed system' is a language which 'has reached the end-point of its linguistic elaboration' (e.g. Tok Pisin, English), and a 'developing system' is a language which is 'moving from a less complex to a more complex stage'(e.g. child first language development, expanding pidgins) (Mühlhäusler 1985:55-57). See also, Mühlhäusler (1985: 56, Table 1), for a table illustrating the consequences of different linguistic systems in contact.

incorporated a number of Hebrew-Aramaic lexical items together with their various morphological forms (Comrie 1989:209).

Mechanical barriers may also operate on a linguistic system in a contact situation, for example, the phonological and orthographic barrier in an isolating language such as Chinese. According to Whinnom (1971) polysyllabic foreign words are not easily transliterated into Chinese characters and usually require a series of monosyllabic lexemes with independent meanings. The comprehension of such words may be difficult, and consequently they are often replaced by a Chinese 'translation' of the word (Whinnom 1971:94-6). Again a psychological or emotional incentive would be able to break this linguistic barrier. Furthermore, Mühlhäusler (1985:75-6) has noted that the strength of such mechanical barriers may be reliant upon the degree to which grammatical restructuring would need to occur before incorporation of lexical or other constructions. For instance, in the case of Tok Pisin, the incorporation of English words with more than three syllables 'has led to considerable grammatical restructuring' (Mühlhäusler 1985:75).

The degree of each of these factors and the way in which they combine vary to a large degree. That variation will affect the degree of interference. Consequently, predictions about how a language will shift in a contact situation is almost impossible. As there is no overall solution or prediction as to what kind or degree of change will occur, it is perhaps best to look at individual examples in terms of actual speech events. However, given certain conditions it is possible to say what is likely. For example, if a significant percentage of a subordinate group experience lengthy and intense contact with a politically, economically and socially dominant group whose language is seen to be prestigious, then the language of the subordinate group is likely to undergo a large degree of interference. This linguistic interference of the dominant group would be facilitated by typological fit.

3.5 Typological change

There are several ways in which to analyse and categorise a language that serve to illustrate the notion of configurationality and word order change. Languages may be categorised according to word order or morphological typology, from which other associated structural

features may then be inferred, with reference to universal tendencies of language. But first, a look at the terminology with which to describe the valency of the verb. The valency of the verb refers to the 'number and kind of noun phrase arguments that a particular predicate (usually a verb) can take' (Comrie 1989:57). A verb can take three noun phrase arguments: subject, direct object, and indirect object. These noun phrase arguments may also be described with reference to morphological cases, such as nominative and ergative for the subject, accusative (and absolutive) for the direct object and dative for the indirect object. Other morphological cases, usually attached to the direct or indirect object, include: locative (location), allative (directional), elative (source), comitative (accompanying), and possessive (ownership). Besides morphological cases, terms used to describe the valency of the verb may also refer to pragmatic (i.e. focus, topic and comment) and semantic (e.g. agent, patient and experiencer) roles, which do not fall neatly into the grammatical categories of subject, direct, and indirect object. For instance, in an inflectional language the relative freedom in word order may allow for the direct object to be slotted into the initial sentence position as the focus. Whereas in a language with a more fixed word order (e.g. SVO), in order to place the direct object in the initial sentence position, it would require a shift in syntax and a change in grammatical relation (e.g. from direct object to subject). Also, in some languages the subject of a sentence can have a number of different semantic roles depending upon the verb type, and furthermore these semantic roles can be expressed by different grammatical relations, for example the 'experiencer' may be the subject, indirect object or direct object.[9]

3.5.1 Languages classified according to word order typology

With reference to Greenberg's (1966) study, basic word order is:

> *characterised in terms of the relative positioning of the subject (S), object (O), and verb (V), giving rise to a typological classification of languages into SVO, SOV, VSO, OVS, VOS, and OSV ...*

and refers to,

> *... the order that occurs in stylistically neutral, independent, indicative clauses with full noun phrase (NP) participants, wherever the subject is definite,*

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[9]See section 3.5.5.

agentive, and human, the object is a definite semantic patient, and the verb represents an action, not a state or event. (Siewierska 1994:4994)[10]

This six-way word order typological classification was supplemented by Venneman's (1972) two-way typology of VO and OV languages applying his natural serialisation principle (NSP) (operand and operator language types), and by Hawkin's (1983) principle of cross-category harmony (PCCH) (Siewierska 1994:4995-6, Comrie 1989:95-100).

A number of problems arise in determining basic word order. These include:

- it is not always clear which constituent of a transitive sentence should be considered the subject or object;
- the full noun phrase participants may not always be present (e.g. a feature of Warlpiri is the omission of the full NP);
- transitive sentences are uncommon or do not exist in some languages;
- there may be more than one basic word order pattern; and,
- there may be variation in the basic word order according to factors such as formal and informal language use.

The following table is a summary of several studies on basic word order frequencies, and is taken from Siewierska's (1994:4994) article on word order[11]. The most frequently occurring basic word orders are SOV and SVO, with VSO less frequently, and object preceding subject rarely.

	sample size	SOV	SVO	VSO	VOS	OVS	OSV
Greenberg (1963)	142	45	36.6	18.3			
Ruhlen (1975)	427	51.5	35.6	10.5	2.1		0.2
Mallinson & Blake (1981)	100	41	35	9	2	1	1
Hawkins (1983)	336	51.8	32.4	13.3	2.3		
Tomlin (1986)	402	44.8	41.8	9.2	3	1.2	

Table 3.1 Relative distribution of six basic word orders (figures are in percentages)[12]

[10]Note, however, that basic word order may not be the same as the dominant word order of a language.

[11]Siewierska (1994:4994) notes that there is some inherent bias in the random sampling, and that the Mallinson and Blake study included eleven languages which are not classified according to the six typological categories of word order used in this table and are therefore not included.

[12]See Siewierska (1994:4994).

The basic word order of a language does not serve to predict degree or type of word order variability, and although the degree of variation in word order differs among languages, there appears to be a preference for placing informationally and structurally light constituents before heavy, for example accessible and topical information preceding less accessible.[13] As Siewierska (1994:4998) notes, word order patterns are 'best viewed not in terms of dichotomous grammaticality judgements, but in terms of a series of choices defining a preferential ranking among the set of word-order possibilities available in a given language'.

3.5.2 Languages classified according to morphological typology

Languages may also be categorised according to morphological typology. In this classification, there are four categories of language types: isolating, agglutinating, fusional (or inflectional), and polysynthetic (incorporating). The parameters of these language types are the index of synthesis and the index of fusion (Comrie 1989:38-9) (see Fig. 3.4). The index of synthesis refers to the number of morphemes in a word. At one end of the scale are isolating languages in which a single morpheme represents a single word, while at the other end of the scale are polysynthetic languages, in which a single word, comprised of numerous morphemes, represents the entire phrase or sentence. The index of fusion refers to the degree to which morphemes in a word are readily segmentable. In agglutinating languages, the morphemes are relatively readily segmentable, whereas in a fusional or inflectional language the shape of morphemes are altered through vowel or consonant change and are less readily segmentable.

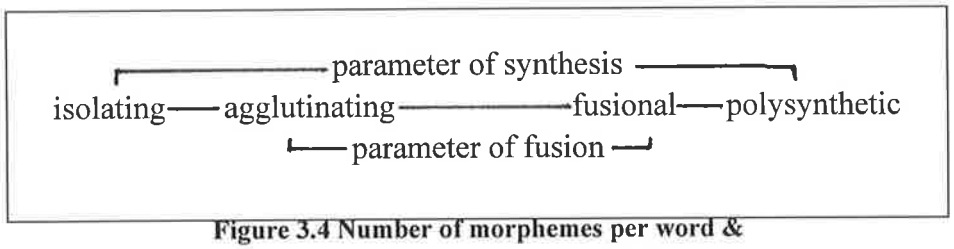

Figure 3.4 Number of morphemes per word & degree of morpheme segmentability

[13]For more examples, see Siewierska (1994:4997-8).

Several problems arise in the labelling of languages according to typological types. One such problem is that languages do not fall into discrete typological categories, rather somewhere along a typological continuum, and many languages are typologically mixed (Mühlhäusler 1987:489). Furthermore, a language that does not belong to a particular language type may be in a process of change. Other problems in the categorisation of language according to morphological typology which are noted by Comrie (1989:47-52) include the identification of word boundaries, the counting of morphemes (e.g. are zero morphs to be included in the count?), the identification of morpheme boundaries (particularly where there is a high degree of fusion between morphemes), and the variability of morpheme shapes.

3.5.3 Universals and word order

Whereas typology is concerned with the differences between languages, universals are concerned with their similarities. Universals can be broken into non-implicational universals and implicational universals. Non-implicational universals are those which 'do not make reference to any other properties of a given language' (Comrie 1989:17), while implicational universals take the form of 'given *x* in a particular language, we always find *y*' (Greenberg 1966:73).[14] Universals may also be regarded as absolute, in which there is 'an extreme case of deviation from random distribution' or tendencies which have a 'statistically significant deviation from random patterning' (Comrie 1989:20).

Greenberg (1966:73-113) employed three sets of criteria as the basic word order: prepositions and postpositions; the relative order of the subject, object and verb (narrowing the six possibilities down to the three major types VSO, SVO, and SOV); and the relative position of the qualifying adjective A (AN) and N (NA).[15] Greenberg applied these criteria to a sample group of thirty languages and derived a list of forty-five universals of grammar as a result of statistically significant correlations. The following table reproduced from Greenberg (1966:77) shows the distribution of languages sampled.

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[14]Note, however, *y* does not equal *x*.
[15]Abbreviations are listed in Appendix II.

	VSO	SVO	SOV
Po-A	0	1	6
Po-N	0	2	5
Pr-A	0	4	0
Pr-N	6	6	0

Table 3.2 Distribution of languages sampled by Greenberg[16]

Commenting on Greenberg's study, Comrie (1989:92-3) notes: that the universals listed are not absolute universals but rather strong tendencies; that Greenberg avoids generalising unilateral implications to bilateral implications; and, that his findings are the result of complex correlations across several parametres including the relative position of the genitive. Furthermore, that of the twenty-four possible language types Greenberg has listed, there are four dominant types: VSO/Pr/NG/NA; SVO/Pr/NG/NA; SOV/Po/GN/AN; SOV/Po/GN/NA, of which there are two major types: VO/Pr/NG/NA and OV/Po/GN/AN (Comrie 1989:95). This is restated by Hawkin's 'universals' based on complex implicational relationships using three or more word parameters, and resulting in the final formulation: Pr & (VSO or SOV) > (NA > NG) (Comrie 1989:99-102).

3.5.4 Word order change

Generally speaking languages are in a constant state of typological change, always evolving and ever developing toward their 'current typological target' (Harris 1976b:35).[17] Greenberg's universals are often used in a diachronic study of word order change, by establishing the typological characteristics of an earlier stage of a language and then noting any changes with reference to the typological characteristics of a language at a later stage.

A force behind language change is the notion of 'typological harmony'.[18] 'Typological harmony' refers to the maintenance of the syntactic constructions associated with the basic typological groupings through the implicational universals proposed by Greenberg (1966). In other words, a change in one aspect of grammar would initiate a type of 'domino effect' upon

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[16]See, Greenberg (1966:77).
[17]Japanese is a noted exception which has maintained typological consistency for many hundreds of years (Harris 1976b:52).
[18]Also referred to as 'typological consistency' by Comrie (1989:213) and Harris (1976b:50).

other aspects. That is, a series of changes follow one another in order to maintain internal grammatical harmony, for example, a language with a basic VSO word order would most likely also have prepositions, whereas a SOV language would most likely have postpositions.[19] Consequently, if 'a typological shift takes place, it is not just a shift of verbs and objects, but also of all the other constructions associated with that type' (Aitchison 1991:160). The notion of typological harmony is echoed by Wardhaugh (1977:213) who notes that as speakers try to correct the asymmetrical features creating an imbalance in language they do not necessarily attain symmetry, but rather language change.

Hyman (1974:115-121) suggests four possibilities as to how word order change may occur:

> *(a) contact: leading to the borrowing of an 'alien' word order;*
> *(b) disambiguation: where phonological change leads to morphological change, followed by word order change (with reference to Vennemann 1972);*
> *(c) grammaticalization: that is the grammaticalization of a lexical item (with reference to Li & Thompson 1974) (see also Mühlhäusler 1985);*
> *(d) after-thought: which refers to the addition of grammatical elements where they normally do not appear, representing the conflict between syntax and pragmatics.*

Harris (1976b:52) adds a fifth possibility, that word order change is initiated by pragmatic factors, and observes that overuse of originally emphatic structures, result in them becoming 'devalued' and their markedness reduced. For instance, the grammaticalization of 'after-thought' initiates typological 'disharmony' resulting in entire shift through the forces associated with typological harmony.

From Aitchison's (1979), study of word order change from SOV in Proto-Indo European to SVO in Ancient Greek it becomes apparent that the following are significant factors in word order shift. Firstly, that a language is predisposed to syntactic change, for example, Proto-Indo European is referred to as a 'leaky' SOV, meaning that the verb final rule was not strictly observed and that there was some variation in word order (Aitchison 1979:55). Secondly, a shift in word order follows a period of variability, a sign of a language in which the basic

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[19]Greenberg (1966:78-79) universals 3 and 4.

word order is in the process of change (as in the case of Modern Standard German). Finally, the order of clauses in a complex sentence may help to determine the order of the constituents within each clause. For example, in Ancient Greek, postposed subordinate clauses, 'strongly reinforced a tendency for rightwards operations' and supported 'rightwards deletion in gapping[20] and conjunction reduction as well as a rightwards movement of other elements' (Aitchison 1979:57).

Furthermore, Aitchison (1991:161) notes that a switch in object-verb order may not be the initial or motivating shift of word order. She notes that in several languages, including Ancient Greek and Latin, that:

> *... the earliest changes seem to have involved a switching round of complex sentences - sentences with more than one clause - then only later affected simple sentences and the order of verbs and objects.*

This view is supported by Li and Thompson (1974) who state that word order change in Archaic Chinese from SVO to SOV in Modern Chinese was primarily due to the collapsing of complex sentences into simple ones, but countered by Vincent (1976:76) who has noted that word order change may indeed begin at the simple sentence level as in the case of Latin.

Some of the factors that facilitate a shift in word order include those that are referred to as 'universal tendencies' of word order change (Greenberg 1966). Two examples of these 'universal tendencies' cited by Aitchison (1991) are verb-object closeness and the deletion of verb repetitions. The notion of 'verb-object closeness' is illustrated by a tendency for the object of a verb to be repeated if the object precedes the verb by some distance (Aitchison 1991:133-4). The repetition of the object after the verb helps to weaken the verb final order. For example, in Classical Latin[21] the verb and object may be comfortably separated, whereas in a literal English translation there would be a tendency to repeat the object, or shift the verb closer to the object. For example:

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[20]'Gapping' here refers to the deletion of verb repetitions.
[21]That is, literary Latin of the first century B.C..

Brevi	urbem	aut	relictam	ab civibus
In a short time	*city+acc.(sg.)*	*either*	*abandoned+acc.(sg.ppl.)*	*by citizens+abl.(pl.)*

aut	cum	ipsis	civibus	capiemus.
or	*with*	*themselves+abl.(pl.)*	*citizens+abl.(pl.)*	*to capture (1pl. fut.)*

Brevi **urbem** aut relictam ab civibus aut cum ipsis civibus **capiemus**.
O V

In a short time, **the city**, either abandoned by the citizens, or with the citizens themselves, **we will capture** (**it**).

In a short time we will capture the city, either abandoned by the citizens, or with the citizens themselves.

Alternatively, a shift in the position of the subordinate clause may also facilitate verb-object closeness.

Animam	non	animum	alerent	qui
soul+acc.(sg.)	*not*	*mind+acc.(sg.)*	*to nourish (3pl. pres.)*	*who*

musicam	educarent.
music +acc.(sg.)	*to teach (3pl.pt.)*

Animam, non animum, qui musicam educarent, **alerent**.
O sub-ord. clause **V**
The soul, not the intellect, who teach music, **they nourish.**

Animam, non animum, alerent qui musicam educarent.
O **V** sub-ord. clause
The soul, not the intellect, they nourish who teach music.

Those who teach music nourish the soul not the intellect.

A similar process to subordinate clause shift is 'afterthought', in which extra bits of information are added on to the main clause.

Hyman (1974:119-121) expresses the view that SOV word order is limiting in that once the verb is expressed there is no room for 'after-thought', for instance, adverbial phrases describing the circumstances of the verb, such as extra information about the location of the

event. He argues therefore, that one of the driving forces of the shift of SOV to SVO is the post-posing of after-thought clauses, and:

> *that one constantly present force contributing to word order change is the conflict between syntax and pragmatics. That is, speakers, in the course of using language, sometimes find it necessary to break the syntax and add grammatical elements in positions where they normally should not appear. (Hyman 1974:119-120)*

Deletion of verb repetitions may occur where two objects share a single verb and may also include the deletion of a repeated subject. In a SOV language, verb deletion may facilitate a shift to SVO (Aitchison 1991:134, 1979:57). For example:

Lydia	plaustrum	parvum	videbat	et
Lydia+nom.(sg.)	*cart+acc.(sg.)*	*small+acc.(sg.)*	*to see (3sg. imp.)*	*and*

Lydia	equum	videbat.
Lydia+nom.(sg.)	*horse+acc.(sg.)*	*to see (3sg.imp.)*

Lydia plaustrum parvum **videbat** et **Lydia** equum **videbat**.
S O V S O V
Lydia cart small saw and Lydia horse saw.

becomes:

Lydia plaustrum parvum **videbat** et equum.
S O V O
Lydia cart small saw and horse.

One of the next possible stages in the transition from SOV to SVO word order is rightwards movement of the other elements (Aitchison 1979:57). Also, a shift in the adjective-noun order may occur in accordance with the implication universal that in a SVO language, adjectives precede the noun which they modify (e.g. *plaustrum parvum - parvum plaustrum*).

Lydia videbat parvum plaustrum et equum.
S V O O
Lydia saw a small cart and a horse.

A third 'universal tendency' that facilitates a shift from a SOV language to a SVO language, is noted by Comrie (1989:213-4). In this example, Greenberg's universal 41 is used to support the notion that a verb final language also has a case system in order to help distinguish

between the subject and object nominals of a verb. The loss of the case system, through phonological change for instance, would increase ambiguity of subject and object nominals, particularly where pragmatic rules determine word order.[22] In order to remove such ambiguity, word order would be increasingly used to determine grammatical relations, together with a possible leakage to the right of the verb. Counter examples to these observations include Ijo (spoken in south-eastern Nigeria), a SOV language without a case system, and German which has a basic SVO word order with a case system (Hyman 1974:117, & Comrie 1989:88).

A language which has a case system, may also have the potential to be a free word order language (i.e. non-configurational). Therefore, factors concerning the shift of word order, particularly with reference to the shift from a SOV to a SVO language, are also relevant in the shift of a configurational to a non-configurational language.

3.5.5 Configurationality

A configurational language is one in which there is a high correlation between grammatical relations and word order, hence word order is determined by grammatical relations and is independent of semantic considerations. For instance, in English, the subject can have a variety of semantic roles (e.g. agent, patient, experiencer, and instrument), but in order to place a semantic role in a different grammatical relation, it requires an alternative syntactic process. An example of this in English is subject to object raising and object to subject raising:

Subject to Object Raising:

I believe that *Maia* telephoned Aisha.	(*Maia*: subject and agent)
I believe *Maia* to have telephoned Aisha.	(*Maia*: direct object and agent)

Object to Subject Raising:

It is easy to open this *window*.	(*window*: direct object and patient)
This *window* is easy to open.	(*window*: subject and patient)

---

[22]Harris (1976b:51) in his study of French and Latin has stated that there is not 'necessarily any causal - or chronological - link between phonetic erosion and syntactic change', but rather that it may have accelerated that change.

Furthermore, pragmatic considerations may vary syntax, in which the semantic role stays the same but the grammatical relations differ. For example, the topic is made the subject, when there is a 'choice between alternative syntactic means of encoding the same semantic structure' (Comrie 1989:76).[23]

Are you able to open this *window*?	(*window*: topic)
This *window* is *easy* to open.	(*window*: topic/subject; *easy*: comment)
cf.	
It is *easy* to open this *window*.	(*window*: topic/object; *easy*: comment)

Alternatively, a non-configurational language is one in which there is a high correlation between grammatical relations and morphology, hence word order is more likely to be based upon pragmatic considerations (Comrie 1989:77). For instance, because grammatical relations are morphologically based in Warlpiri there is no need to use a different syntactic process to place the same semantic role in a different grammatical relation, instead this may be achieved by rearranging the word order. Consequently, there is a closer relationship between word order and semantic roles in a non-configurational language (Finegan 1994:187). Moreover, word order is varied according to pragmatic considerations and what appears in the initial sentence position is frequently the topic (i.e. the given information) but not necessarily the subject, and what comes last, is the focus (i.e. the new information) (Finegan 1994:217).

In summary, syntax, has two major roles: to encode semantic information and to encode pragmatic information. In configurational languages, where there is a close relationship between word order and grammatical relations, pragmatic information is encoded through variation in syntactic structures. In non-configurational languages, which use word order to encode pragmatic information, there is less of a need to have complex syntactic constructions.[24]

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[23]However, in English the marking of topic through word order is less important than the marking of subject, in comparison with other languages such as Warlpiri, which mark topic through word order and a topic marker.

[24]Further remarks about configurationality are included in Chapter Four, section 4.11.

3.5.6 Shift from a non-configurational to a configurational language

Languages may shift from non-configurational to configurational as in the case of Latin, or the other way around as in the case of Wappo, an Indigenous American-Indian language (Aitchison 1979:209). In order for a language to be non-configurational, it is necessary that the grammatical information be encoded at the morpheme level. However, as noted above, the reverse is not always true: that is, having a case system does not necessarily mean that the language is non-configurational. Indeed, the case system of a language may be largely redundant, and 'artificially' maintained through the conservative measures such as the written form, or linguistic institutions such as the Académie Française. As many of the same factors involved in the shift of word order mentioned above are also relevant in the shift of configurationality I will not repeat them here but the will be discussed further in Chapters Four and Five with reference to Warlpiri and Latin.

The question which I would now like to examine in the following chapter is, to what degree is a shift in configurationality activated by a contact situation? I will do this by looking at Warlpiri, an Indigenous Australian non-configurational language, and by noting both the social and linguistic changes that have occurred as a consequence of contact with English. I will then apply some of the insights gained by looking at Warlpiri to get a better understanding of the role contact has played in the shift of configurationality in Latin.

Chapter Four - Part 1

WARLPIRI: CASE STUDY

In this chapter, I will provide some background information on the Warlpiri language and its speakers, I will look at the traditional and more recent contact situation, and note some of the changes that have occurred both at the sociolinguistic and at the linguistic level. The overall intended outcome is to discover if there has been a shift in the relative freedom of word order in Warlpiri, or a change to any of the social or linguistic structural factors supporting non-configurationality, and the role of social factors in language change.

But first, a few more words about the term 'Warlpiri'.[1] As Mühlhäusler (1989:140) notes for the Pacific area, small differences between some languages result in 'dialect and language chains covering a large area'[2]. The same may be said for much of the Australian situation. Such a 'dialect or language chain' is facilitated by the choice of multilingualism in a contact situation, rather than by the use of a lingua franca or a pidgin.[3] Indeed, the notion of 'traditional languages' as separate and distinct from neighbouring varieties may not be a very useful one in the Australian situation. It is perhaps little more than a 'convenient labelling device' reflecting a European perspective (Mühlhäusler 1996:6-7). Nevertheless, for the practical purposes of this paper I will refer to Warlpiri meaning Warlpiri which is spoken in and around Yuendumu, making special reference to different dialects, registers and varieties where necessary.

4.1 Geographical location

The majority of Warlpiri speakers live in the north-western part of central Australia, generally in the area of the Tanami Desert, as well as some 'isolated pockets' in neighbouring areas and 'urban' centres (e.g. Alekarenge, Alice Springs, and Tennant Creek). The main speaker communities are Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Nyirrpi[4], Willowra, and Alekarenge. (see Figure 4.1).

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[1]I have also noted my definition of the term 'Warlpiri' for the purposes of this paper in Chapter 1.

[2]See also, Mühlhäusler (1996:5).

[3]After colonial contact, a number of lingua francas, Pidgins, Creoles, and koines have risen throughout Australia.

[4]I have employed the spellings of Aboriginal words as they occur in the referred works, or as

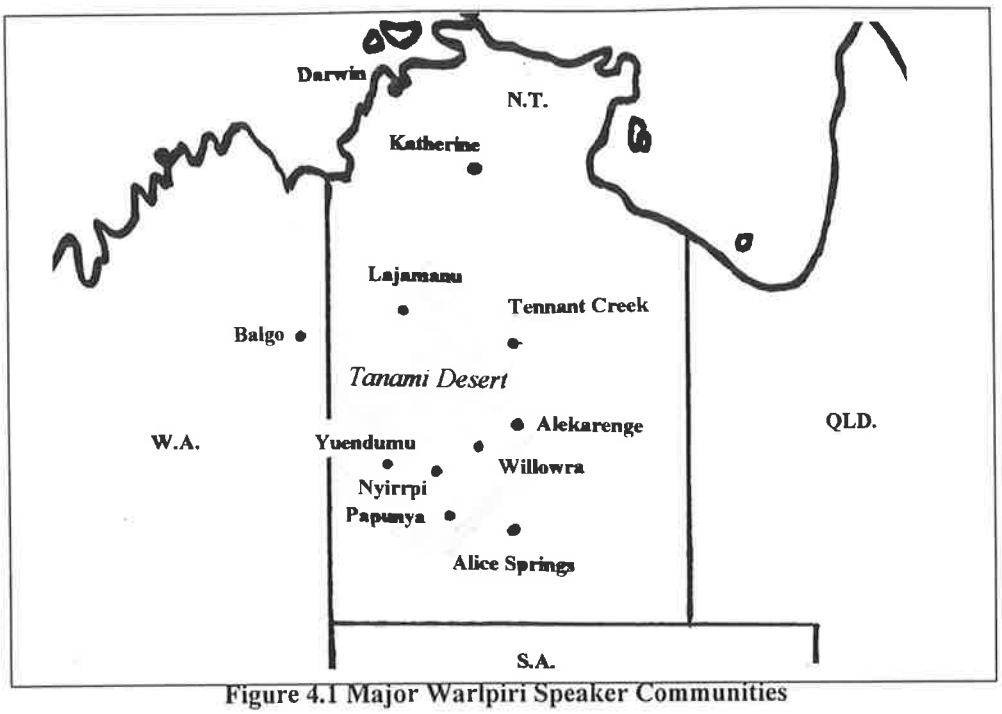

Figure 4.1 Major Warlpiri Speaker Communities

The fieldwork component of my study was undertaken at Yuendumu, which lies on the southern edge of the Tanami Desert, 289 km north-west of Alice Springs, and is one of the largest Warlpiri communities with approximately 800-1000 residents, of whom approximately 90% are *yapa* (i.e. Australian Aboriginal) and 10% are *kardiya* (i.e. non-Indigenous).[5] It was set up in 1946 as an 'Aboriginal Reserve', or ration station, by the Native Affairs Branch and one year later it became a Baptist Mission.

> *At Yuendumu, there used to only be kangaroos; there were no people. People would pass through en route to good country. They would go to live at Wakurlpu and other places. Afterwards, white men came here. They built a bore and houses here. They never asked the people, they went ahead and put down the bore. Afterwards, people kept hearing about it and then more and more would come to the water. ...*
>
> *The name of this place is 'Yurntumulyu', which was the name of a Dreamtime Woman. Today everyone calls it Yurntumu (Yuendumu). However, Yurntumu is over there, to the east, where we pass the road to Alice Springs, besides the hills. Yakurrukaji is the name of the place where the houses stand, where the soakage is. This is the land where we live. Yuendumu people have been living here for a long time, as the children grow up, this land will become theirs. (Warlukurlangu Artists 1992:9)*

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they are represented in other published texts or maps. For some alternative spellings or names see Appendix III.

[5]See Maps 1-4.

As a consequence of the Land Rights movement of the mid-1970's and of the 1977-8 Warlpiri land claim, Yuendumu and its surrounding area was recognised by Australian law as Warlpiri country. While I was visiting Yuendumu in 1997, it had its own elected council, a number of government services and Warlpiri, in its various forms, continued to be the community's first language, while any second, third or more languages was typically another Australian Aboriginal language or a variety of English.

4.2 Contact

The exchange of linguistic and cultural information among traditional Australian Aboriginal societies generally facilitated the sustenance and maintenance of their language and culture, whereas contact with non-traditional groups (i.e. post 1770), whose language and culture were radically different, has left a marked impact on Australian Aboriginal people and has generally contributed to the radical decline and loss of their language and culture.

4.2.1 Traditional neighbours

In the past, the degree of contact and social interchange between traditional neighbours of the Warlpiri people varied considerably. The Warlpiri seem to have had a close relationship with some of their neighbours, while avoiding others. The following is not a complete list of traditional neighbours but a selection of those which Meggitt (1965) mentioned in his book *The Desert People*.

Traditional neighbours to the north included the Kuurrinji and the Mudburra with whom the Warlpiri had ceremonial and trading links, and through which indirect contact with other northern peoples was made (Meggitt 1965:35). According to Meggitt (1965:37), the Warlpiri were on good terms with the Warlmanpa and referred to them as 'half-Warlpiri', sharing language and cultural features. To the east there was limited contact with the Yulyuwara and the Ngadidji, and Meggitt (1965:38) states that the Warlpiri were on unfriendly terms with the Warumungu. The Yanmadjari were also considered 'half-Warlpiri', sharing a long common boundary, trade, totemic ceremonies, myths and tracks, as well as intermarrying frequently

(Meggitt 1965:40) even though the Yanmadjari (or Anmatyerre) are an Arandic language group.

> *There were many Warlpiri people living at Coniston, further north, on land belonging to the Anmatyerre. Warlpiri and Anmatyerre people share many ceremonies, Dreamings and land. (Warlukurlangu Artists 1992:9)*

With the Arrernte however, who are also members of the Arandic language group, Meggitt (1965:40) notes that the Warlpiri had little direct contact. Neighbours to the south include the Pitjantjatjara with whom the Warlpiri living in the area were on friendly terms, and it was reported by Meggitt (1965:41) that most southern Warlpiri could speak Pitjantjatjara fluently. Meggitt (1965:41) also records that there was some conflict between the Warlpiri and their western neighbours the Waringari and the Lungga.

Post colonial contact initiated a dramatic change in the traditional contact patterns for the Warlpiri and their neighbours. 'The Walbiri [Warlpiri] have already taken over certain Warramunga [Warumungu] norms concerned with initiation and funerary activities' (Meggitt 1964:34).[6] This observation would seem to support Meggitt's prediction (1964:34), that the Warlpiri people, because of their relatively greater rate of population increase and expansion of territory, would 'absorb' some of their traditional neighbours. I am unsure as to what degree this has actually happened. What does seem clear, however, is that for many of the Warlpiri's traditional neighbours, contemporary speaker numbers are relatively low compared with the number of Warlpiri speakers (3000+). In 1987, there were approximately: 200 Warumungu speakers; 50 Mudburra; 250 Kuurrinji; 50 Malngin; and 50 Warlmanpa (Walsh 1980). Furthermore, some recent maps of the area (e.g. Horton, D. 1994) do not indicate a number of the language groups mentioned by Meggitt. This apparent disappearance of language groups may be due to overall changes in the area, or simply to a limitation of these maps. Other current lists of neighbouring language groups include those mentioned above, as well as: the Luritja, Ngardi, Jaru, Nyininy, Walmajarri, Pintupi, Anmatyerr (Yanmadjari),

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[6]This observation is interesting because, as noted earlier, Meggitt states that the Warlpiri were on unfriendly terms with the Warumungu.

Kaytetye, and Alyawarr (Laughren et al 1996:2)[7]. For many members of these groups some knowledge, especially a passive knowledge, of Warlpiri would be likely.

4.2.2 Post colonial contact

The isolation and inaccessibility of Warlpiri country meant that the Warlpiri people suffered little initial contact with 'white' colonists and 'Afghan' traders.[8] Consequently, they were able to maintain their traditional ways and independence to a greater degree than those communities living closer to 'white' settlements.

The settlement of the Northern Territory by pastoralists in the late 1800's, the discovery of gold, tin and wolfram in the Tanami Desert region in the early 1900's, followed by a severe drought in the 1920's dramatically increased the degree of contact between the Warlpiri people and the 'Europeans' (Meggitt 1965). At times this contact was marred by misunderstanding and violence (e.g. the Lander Creek incident).[9]

Most of all, contact significantly changed the pattern of traditional Warlpiri 'settlement' and lifestyle associated with a nomadic existence (Toohey 1979:43). These changes not only increased the amount of contact with the English language and culture but also the degree of interaction between speakers of different Warlpiri dialects. Warlpiri people were attracted away from their traditional lands by the promise of work, they were displaced by pastoralists, and they were actively moved to 'reserves' (Toohey 1979:12, 43-57). In the late 1930's, up to 25% of Warlpiri men were working as casual labourers at the mining camps (e.g. The Granites, Mt. Singleton) and as stockmen on cattle stations (e.g. Mt. Doreen), while some Warlpiri women worked as domestic servants on these cattle stations (Meggitt 1965:26/27). Amongst other factors, unemployment, due to a decline in mining, together with the initiation

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[7]The Warlpiri, Kartangarurru, and Kuurrinji were joint claimants of the 1977 Land Claim. The Katajararurru and the Kuurrinji lands, lie to the north-west of Warlpiri country.
[8]These so-called 'Afghan' traders were for the most part originally from what is today known as Pakistan,. Also interesting accounts of some of the first expeditions into the region can be found in the journal *Aboriginal History*. See, Hercus (1981).
[9]Incidents such as these resulted in some Warlpiri people leaving their traditional lands for fear of reprisals (Toohey 1979:5).

of government legislation concerning the 'welfare' of Australian Aboriginals, saw the establishment of several 'Aboriginal Reserve' settlements. Some of these settlements, such as Lajamanu (Hooker Creek), were outside of traditional boundaries (Toohey 1979:44), and many of the Warlpiri people not living on cattle stations were relocated to them. By 1955, two thirds of the Warlpiri population lived in government established settlements (Meggitt 1965:28).

4.3 Warlpiri language

Warlpiri is a member of the Pama-Nyungan family of Australian Aboriginal languages. Estimated speaker numbers stand at 3000 (Schmidt 1990:4), with another 1000 who speak Warlpiri as their second or third language (Laughren et al 1996:1).[10] Warlpiri is classified as a 'healthy language' (Schmidt 1990:2) because: it has a relatively large number of speakers (3000+)[11], it continues to be transmitted across generations, and it is used in a wide range of social contexts. Ownership of 'traditional' Warlpiri land and the acquisition of Warlpiri as the first language by children has assisted in the Warlpiri language becoming 'one of the best surviving languages of Australia' (Bavin and Shopen 1991:105). Despite the apparent robust health of Warlpiri, its situation remains precarious and fragile. In general, the future of Indigenous languages in Australia is dim. Only ten percent of Australian Aboriginal people still speak their traditional language (Schmidt 1990:Executive Summary).[12]

Meggitt (1965:47) notes four divisions of the superordinate Warlpiri grouping with two language distinctions: the Yalpari are said to 'talk light' (unvoiced consonants) and the Waneiga, Walmalla, and Ngalia are said to 'talk heavy' (voiced consonants). Laughren et al (1996:2) on the other hand, list seven major dialects of Warlpiri, two of which are traditionally languages of the Yuendumu area: Warrmarlu (designating speakers from the hills) and Warnayaka (designating speakers from the spinifex and desert country)

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[10]For the past few decades the estimated population of Warlpiri people has remained relatively stable. The estimated Warlpiri population in 1972 was 2700.
[11]Various factors such as overall population number needs to be considered when determining size of relative speaker group (Mühlhäusler 1995).
[12]By comparison, a 1986 census noted that approximately 20% of Australian Aboriginal people still speak their traditional language (DEETYA 1996:53).

(Warlukurlangu Artists 1992:7). Laughren et al (1996:2) also observe that the major communities, such as Yuendumu, have 'developed their own distinctive varieties of Warlpiri' characterised by 'pronunciation and vocabulary, often reflecting neighbouring languages'. Amery (1993), like Hansen (1984) and others, refers to these varieties as 'communilects', a distinctive community language which may be a common language, or a koine. Koines are the outcome of speakers of different varieties of the one language, or of other related languages, living in close proximity, typically in permanent settlements, resulting in these different varieties or languages undergoing a dialect shift (e.g. Dhuwaya, North-East Arnhemland) (Amery 1993:46).

Warlpiri may also be divided into traditional Warlpiri, which is spoken by the Elders, many of whom the younger speakers say are difficult to understand, and modern Warlpiri or young people's language, which has borrowed some English words, coined new Warlpiri ones, and is experiencing grammatical change, such as pronoun innovation, (Bavin and Shopen 1986).[13] Warlpiri speakers also have a communication repertoire embracing a number of registers and languages, such as 'baby talk' (Laughren 1984), a women's sign language (Kendon 1988), and the various 'taboo' or avoidance registers such as 'mother-in-law' language.

4.4 Language change

Contact with colonists and subsequent 'westernisation' has effected enormous social and linguistic change for traditional Australian Aboriginal societies.[14] For the Warlpiri people, their traditional lifestyle has been largely lost. The following observation made by Bavin and Shopen (1991:5) provides a fairly accurate picture ten years later.

> *The people have been moved into settlements and lost much of their hunting and gathering way of existence. Although they do still hunt and gather, they have adopted many new practices from European culture. They also continue performing traditional ceremonies and speak Warlpiri for most of their communicative needs.*

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[13]Kay Ross (p.c. 1997) referred to 'modern Warlpiri' as ' talk light', as in 'what they speak at Lajamanu', and to 'traditional Warlpiri' as 'talk heavy', as in 'what they speak at Yuendumu'.
[14]See also, McKay (1996:6-7).

This shift away from their traditional lifestyle, together with the embracing of 'western' occupations, such as teaching and administration, and an increasing contact with 'western' material goods and culture, all have resulted in a number of sociolinguistic changes for the Warlpiri people at Yuendumu.

Traditionally, knowledge was made available to each successive generation over a number of years and the Warlpiri person was 'grown up' by the society in which he or she lived (Toohey 1979:46). As part of this socialisation the Warlpiri child acquired Warlpiri language together with an understanding of the socially appropriate use of language according to factors such as context and content. Decreasing occupation with traditional pastimes, mirrored by an increasing occupation with non-traditional pastimes, has resulted in the social activities of the younger generation becoming largely separate from those of the older generation and in an increased exposure to the English language. These factors have assisted in the failure of complete socialisation of Warlpiri cultural and linguistic matters for members of the younger generation and in a breakdown in the line of transference of Warlpiri language from one generation to the next. Furthermore, the breakdown of the strict traditional marriage laws is viewed by some to be causing great harm to the strength and ultimate survival of Warlpiri language.[15] As marriage partners are increasingly being sought from outside of the community, where Warlpiri is not as strong as it is in Yuendumu, it is feared that Warlpiri will no longer be used in the home or passed on to successive generations. I will discuss sociolinguistic change at Yuendumu more closely in Chapter 4 - Part 2.

Pre-1974, the English-only policy at the Yuendumu school appears to have played a major role in increasing the presence of English based words in the Warlpiri language, but even after the initiation of bilingual education, English words continue to be adopted into the Warlpiri language although to a lesser degree (Baarda 1994:206). English words may be adopted by Warlpiri speakers for a number of reasons, because of the relatively high prestige of English (Baarda 1994:206), to label new ideas and items, or as a result of the tradition of borrowing from another language to compensate for the 'temporary' loss of words which have become

[15]As related to me by Warlpiri informants at Yuendumu in 1997.

kumanjayi ('taboo')[16]. Some of the 'English' words borrowed have been assimilated using the Warlpiri sound system, for example *turaki*: truck, *kuurlu*: school, *tawunu*: town and *mutukayi*: motorcar, while other words have not, for example: 'disco', 'basketball', and 'holiday'. Also, new domains for language use, such as the sports arena, have led to the rise of mixed language terms such as '*kurnta-play-back*': (lit.) shame, or embarrassment replay (reported by Robert Hoogenraad in *Desert Schools*, DEET 1996:90).

Although the Warlpiri grammatical system is quite constrained in some areas, in terms of word order sequence it generally allows for a great degree of variability. Despite this variability, the unmarked word order in Warlpiri is SOV[17]. This and any other statistically recurrent word order preference in Warlpiri may be accounted for by pragmatic and stylistic factors. There is, however, an indication of an increasing frequency or preference for SVO word order, possibly as a result of contact with English. Furthermore, the great degree of variability of word order in Warlpiri means that it is able to absorb and maintain the SVO word order of English, without any major immediate interference in its grammatical structure.

Grammatical features in Warlpiri that are less variable and which require a great deal of socialisation or support structures (e.g. educational institutions delivering effective literacy programs), such as the pronominal system, have been more susceptible to change due to external factors such as contact (e.g. the partial transference of the English pronominal paradigm, and social change which has affected kin relation structures resulting in a change in pronominal usage), and from internal factors (e.g. the complicated pronominal system is difficult to learn and is likely to have undergone simplification and generalisation). Another such grammatical feature requiring a great deal of socialisation and which is susceptible to change is the case system, which facilitates the relatively free word order sequence in Warlpiri.

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16 'Temporary' because the substitute word is often maintained even when the original word is no longer *kumanjayi*.

17 For abbreviations see Appendix II.

However, despite more than fifty years of intense contact with the English language and culture, the degree of social and sociolinguistic change does not equal the degree of change to the Warlpiri language at the structural level. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Firstly, fifty years is a relatively short time for language change to occur (perhaps a comparison could be made to the children of immigrants to Australia who typically lose their language after two to three generations - Clyne 1991a:219-220). Secondly, the remote location of Yuendumu and the Warlpiri speaking community, which only relatively recently has had a more reliable and efficient means of transport to, and communication with, non-Indigenous language groups, has acted as a geographical barrier. And lastly, the consequences of the bilingual program initiated in 1974 and of the raised awareness of linguistic or language related issues by the Warlpiri community, have in some instances reversed and even stemmed the tide of change. It remains to be seen, however, what effect the recent reversal to the bilingual education policy by the Northern Territory Government will have on the maintenance of Warlpiri as a community language.[18] I will discuss structural change to the Warlpiri language more closely in Chapter Four - Part 3.

[18]See Appendix IV for press cutting on the bilingual debate.

Chapter Four - Part 2

WARLPIRI: SOCIOLINGUISTIC CHANGE

Language is a cultural and social product and, as community groups generally do not exist in isolation, any change to the environment, regional or global, has consequences for a community and their language (see 'mushroom metaphor' Mühlhäusler 1989:139)[1]. Social change, therefore, results in linguistic change, whether it be in speech use or typological variation.

4.5 The sociolinguistic approach

> *It is rather that it is not linguistics, but ethnography - not language, but communication - which must provide the frame of reference within which the place of language in culture and society is to be described. (Hymes 1964:3)*

'Ethnographies of communication' as discussed by Hymes may be defined as the investigation of speech use within the context of community and relating them together in a systematic way (Hymes 1964:2-3). To provide an 'etic grid' Jacobson's 'constitutive factors' of speech events were further developed by Hymes as the 'components of speech', which as Malcolm (1980/82:54/55) observes 'provides a comprehensive basis for speech use analysis'.[2] Malcolm (1980/82:55) considers his own study 'a sociolinguistic restatement' and not an ethnography of communication due to 'scattered and incomplete data'. However, I will rely heavily on his insights of Australian Aboriginal speech use, and the 'etic grid' of Hymes, as a framework for a sociolinguistic study of the Warlpiri language in which the focus may be expanded to include a more ecological perspective, and will make direct reference to the sociolinguistic situation at Yuendumu where possible.

> *Sociolinguistics has been described as the study of verbal behaviour in terms of the social characteristics of speakers, their cultural background, and the ecological properties of the environment in which they interact. (Gumperz 1964:137)*

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[1] In this discussion the term 'community' refers to those participating, actively or passively, in the communication of any of the recognised Warlpiri repertoires in Yuendumu. For a more detailed discussion on 'speech community' see Chapter Three, section 3.3.1.

[2] 'An etic approach is one where the physical patterns of language are described with a minimum of reference to their function within the language system' (Crystal 1992;119). See also, Hymes (1964:22).

Even more emphatic on the importance of an ecological perspective is Mühlhäusler's position that:

> *... the consideration of ecological factors is a prerequisite to any account of either the history or grammatical structures of languages of an area. It is ecological factors which bring languages into being, define their boundaries and decide on their growth and survival. (Mühlhäusler 1996:3)*

Consequently, I will also refer to Mühlhäusler's selection of components that are relevant to the question of language change, including his additional 'changes in situation' (Mühlhäusler 1989:142).

This sociolinguistic study therefore, will investigate the context in which language change occurs with the view to understanding the dynamics and product of language change for Warlpiri at Yuendumu. It will provide an indication of language change which may have occurred as a result of contact with the English language and 'western' culture, bearing in mind that social change means linguistic change. Such a sociolinguistic investigation may also be employed to make some predictions as to what the direction of language change may be, and as a comparative reference to surmise how language change may have occurred in situations where direct evidence may be lacking (e.g. as in the case of Latin).

A major limitation to this investigation is the brevity of my stay at Yuendumu. Consequently, much of what I have observed and understood, regarding the Warlpiri language and its use at Yuendumu, is more akin to 'first impressions' and perhaps best serve as a starting point for a future more detailed investigation. In some instances what I have written has been tempered by information from published texts and various studies on Warlpiri. Any misinformation, for which I apologise in advance, is my own doing and wholly unintentional.

4.6 Changes in situation

The 'changes in situation' listed in Mühlhäusler's paper (1989:142-145), provide a framework against which changes in the greater linguistic ecology can be measured. 'By situation, in its broadest sense we understand the material and human setting of communication' (Mühlhäusler, 1989:142). 'Changes in situation' therefore, also result in changes to the situational context of language (i.e. changes in language use). For instance, the list of changes

to the speaker's environment (ie. 'situational changes'), which I have noted below with some reference to the situation at Yuendumu, provides examples of changes to the contexts of language use, and their effects upon language. Changes in a speaker's environment, such as the introduction of 'western' goods oblige the introduction or development of a vocabulary necessary in order to refer to them. Indeed, the 'inability' to use a traditional language to talk about modern things may lead to separate domains of language use defined by topic. However, as McConvell (1991:149) notes language choice and use is a complex matter involving a number of factors including social meaning and social function. Furthermore, the shift from a low information society to a high information society encourages the use of a single language in favour of a multilingual situation. The result of such changes can be seen in the viability of the less preferred language or languages (Mühlhäusler 1989:145) and unless a language is able to adapt itself to a new environment, or in some way the environment is able to be 'stabilised', extinction is often the ultimate consequence. Change, however, is inevitable.

i) The introduction of new plants and animals, and diseases. In the Yuendumu area, an obvious change to the landscape has been caused by cattle and horses, who through their grazing have depleted the native plant life, and by their hooves have disrupted the natural revegetation of the area and inhibited revegetation. These changes have decreased the availability of traditional food sources and the increase in animal population has strained the already limited water resources. This disruption to the traditional ecology has a linguistic follow on effect concerning what is spoken about, where and by whom. At Yuendumu, weekend trips to collect bush tucker, such as honey ants, bush bananas and bush coconuts are eagerly awaited and enthusiastically recounted by children. Such trips, however, are less frequent now than they were in the past and are usually more of a social activity than a means of survival. Moreover, the introduction of new plants and animals has led to new topics of conversation and the borrowing of 'foreign' words, for example *puluku*: bullock and *jukujuku*: chicken.

ii) The introduction of human diseases, alcohol, and drugs. Problems with alcohol and drugs have altered the traditional Warlpiri social structure and are, in part, responsible for many untimely deaths. Yuendumu is currently an 'alcohol free' zone and special programs have been initiated by the community to deal with substance abuse problems. For instance, the Mt Theo outstation is being used as a type of rehabilitation centre for young people from Yuendumu and a Women's Night Patrol team has been assisting those in need at Yuendumu. Such serious social problems, apart from the obvious ramifications, exacerbate the distance between the younger an older generations, and inhibit the transmission of traditional linguistic and cultural information.

The list of human diseases 'introduced' into Indigenous Australian communities include those which are reaching epidemic proportions in other parts of the world, such as AIDS and Hepatitis C. Government funded campaigns intended to raise the awareness of Aboriginal people to the dangers of contracting life threatening and debilitating diseases such as these, have meant the translation of information into Warlpiri and other Indigenous Australian languages.

iii) The displacement of Indigenous inhabitants through colonisation. As already mentioned, Yuendumu is not a traditional 'settlement', but rather a consequence of the restriction and redefining of land use. Traditional nomadic and ceremonial routes were impeded to some extent by the colonisation of this land. The shift from a nomadic society to a 'settlement' lifestyle in the case of the Warlpiri people was initiated by contact with white settlers and cemented by the establishment of 'Aboriginal Reserves' (see 4.2.2).

> *The country here is good, with sand hills, rocks, creeks, trees and flat country. There are water soakages lying some distance apart through the spinifex country. There are rockholes in the hills. ... When there was no water people would walk round from place to place, from one water soakage to another, from one rockhole to another. this was the way the people brought up their children. Today, people are still walking around and are going back to the country of their ancestors where they grew up. They know that they want to live there forever now that the Europeans have given them back their land. (Warlukurlangu Artists 1992:7)*

The displacement from traditional lands and the shift to non-traditional settlements, for instance, have given rise to different topics of conversations relating to this transition of lifestyle, and to different speech styles as a result closer contact with neighbouring and non-traditional language groups.

iv) Change in material culture. Traditional tools and weapons such as boomerangs (*karli* or *wirlki)* and spears (*kurlarda* and *mangulpa*) have been exchanged for European ones, such as rifles (*makiti*, i.e. musket). A change in tools and weapons frequently results in a change in the method and the language with which to instruct and inform about the tasks undertaken. The introduction of permanent housing and the concomitants of 'western' material culture, such as white goods, has also effected social change, not only by the increase of settled communities but also in the nature of social relations concerning ownership and mutual obligation (Teasdale & Teasdale 1993:3). At Yuendumu, houses complete with contents are being less frequently abandoned after the death of the occupant/owner, instead they are being transferred to someone else. An anticipated linguistic consequence of these social changes would be a semantic shift in language used to describe mutual obligation, ownership, and the taboo traditionally associated with the belongings of the deceased.

Also, it has been observed by some of the Warlpiri people living at Yuendumu that one of the most significant changes has been the introduction of motorised transport and the establishment of a local garage. The garage in particular has meant that motor vehicles are more easily repaired, which in turn has dramatically increased mobility and contact with traditional and non-traditional contact groups.

v) Existing communication networks altered, reorientated and expanded. Traditional communication networks mainly relied upon messengers and smoke signals. The introduction of the Tanami Network in 1991[3], following the arrival of telephone and air-mail services, has significantly changed the possibilities of communication at Yuendumu. Video conferencing, through a satellite link-up to other parts of Australia, is used by the school and for other social

[3]The Tanami Network began with trials in 1991, and became fully operational in 1992.

services, such as health checks and job interviews. The Yuendumu community and school also have their own home page on the Internet[4], resulting in a global exchange of information and communication. In 1998, Warlpiri Media acquired a number of computers and provided daily Internet access for Yuendumu community members.

Most television and radio services are in English but some Warlpiri language productions are featured on the Northern Territory's Imparja Television Network.[5] McKay (1996:101-104) notes that while television in particular has meant that remote communities have a greater exposure to non-Indigenous languages than they otherwise would and that television viewing has resulted in a reduction of traditional activities which typically provided contexts for language use, it also broadcasts Indigenous language programs which have impacted positively in some communities.

vi) Spiritual culture altered through the influence of missionaries, the education process and the mass media. Descriptions of traditional Warlpiri ceremonies can be found in Meggitt (1965) and Dussart (1988). It is my understanding that many of the traditional ceremonies, such as male initiation, continue to be conducted, albeit with some modifications. At Yuendumu, the Baptist mission established in 1947, introduced Christianity, basic 'western' education and health services, and also provided some employment for the Warlpiri people. Today, fifty years later, there is a mixing of traditional and 'western' ceremonies, for example, at Easter a Passion play is performed in traditional Warlpiri style (*purlapa*), and funerary activities are frequently conducted in both traditional Warlpiri and Christian ways.

Dislocation from dreaming sites and tracks has had a significant spiritual and psychological effect on the Warlpiri people, especially when ceremonies are not able to be performed and responsibilities of tending to sacred sites are not able to be carried out. There has been some improvement in this situation by the return of Warlpiri land to its traditional owners and through rise of the outstation movement (Toohey 1979:47-48). Furthermore, the passing down

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[4]See Appendix XII for web page addresses.
[5]See Appendix V for more information about the Imparja Television Network.

of traditional ways has, in part, been maintained by yearly country visits in which community members and students spend a week together at one of several outstations and participate in a number of traditional activities such as dancing, hunting, story telling, body painting, singing and visits to special places (Mifsud, P. 1998:1).[6] The link of language with land is particularly significant. Students at Yuendumu school also go on day trips with their teachers, sometimes accompanied by Elders, to places in and around the Yuendumu area to experience some aspect of traditional Warlpiri ways, such as bush tucker or *Jukurrpa* (i.e. Dreaming stories).

vii) Change in traditional contact groups (see also 4.2). Change at the local level either through relocation of the Warlpiri people themselves and/or of their traditional neighbours has meant: decreased contact with traditional neighbours who speak an Indigenous Australian language other than Warlpiri; increased contact with speakers of different dialects of Warlpiri and the possible rise of koines (refer to 4.3); increased contact with non-traditional neighbours who speak Indigenous Australian languages other than Warlpiri (e.g. at national conferences, and as a result of increased mobility); and increased contact with speakers of a language other than an Australian Indigenous language. One of the most apparent outcomes of the change in traditional contact groups is the addition of 'foreign words' to the Warlpiri lexicon. More will be said about the sociolinguistic and linguistic consequences of contact in sections 4.7, 4.10, and 4.12.

Social change has also provided the opportunity for contact with people on an international scale. In 1998, two Warlpiri women travelled to Niger as part of an international exchange program organised and funded by the CSIRO and the Department of Primary Industries. The aim of the trip was to show villagers how acacia seeds are traditionally roasted, winnowed and ground in Australia.[7] This international exchange of language and culture between Australian and international Indigenous peoples operates in both directions. In 1997, an Australian based, South African born drummer visited Yuendumu and gave demonstrations and workshops on

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[6]See Appendix VI for examples of text taken from *Junga Yimi,* including a reference to Country Visits.
[7]See Appendix VII.

traditional African drumming and Zulu dance. The visit was funded by the now defunct Yuendumu Skillshare.[8]

viii) Increasing population, urbanisation, and regional mobility. Since the establishment of Yuendumu, increasing population, urbanisation and regional mobility continues to alter its social structure as the Warlpiri people shift from a traditional nomadic to a more sedentary lifestyle. The development of roads, housing, commercial, administration, health and education services have reshaped the landscape as well as the context and content for language use.

Community members are being increasingly attracted away from Yuendumu to urban centres, such as Alice Springs, inhibiting or impeding the possibility of complete socialisation in Warlpiri language and culture for the succeeding generation. It does, however, provide the opportunity for young Warlpiri people to better understand mainstream Australian 'English' language and culture. These urban centres provide services not readily available at Yuendumu, such as secondary education and extensive medical facilities, and they also allow a certain freedom associated with being removed from the constraints of traditional customs and laws.

ix) Change to the status of local languages. The formerly egalitarian status of languages of the region was changed to a hierarchical one. The documentation and standardisation of one particular form of Warlpiri for education and literacy purposes may have marginalised some of the other forms, varieties, dialects or registers of the same language. Furthermore, in the context of mainstream Australian society which places a greater value on the written form of a language over the spoken, Warlpiri would have greater status than those Indigenous Australian languages which do not have a written form.

At Yuendumu, while Warlpiri is the language for local matters, interpersonal communication and traditional 'business' (both sacred and secular), English is the main language of

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[8]Yuendumu Skillshare ran literacy and basic life skills for the young men of Yuendumu.

education, administration, health services, and to some degree religion (i.e. Christianity) and it is the dominant language on a national level. Both Warlpiri and English are useful for employment purposes at Yuendumu.

x) The usefulness of local languages reduced. As mentioned above, the standardisation and use in literacy of a particular form or dialect of Warlpiri has meant that other forms, varieties or dialects have become less viable. A decrease in the degree of contact with traditional neighbours has resulted in a decrease in the contexts in which Indigenous local languages are used at Yuendumu.

There has been an increase in the degree of contact, and almost dependency upon, non-traditional contact groups using English. The concomitant social institutions of western society, such as hospitals and schools, has increased Warlpiri people's exposure to English. For example, many children from Yuendumu spend much of the first few years of their lives being 'looked after by surrogate mothers' as patients of the Alice Springs Hospital (Rob Amery p.c.). Major community services or commercial centres operate or are managed outside of Yuendumu and predominantly use English for their communicative and administrative needs (e.g. emergency medical care is mostly provided at Alice Springs or in Adelaide). The obligation for Warlpiri people to operate in English when using community services is typified by Federal and State government services, such as Centrelink, whose forms and information sheets are in English, or languages other than an Indigenous Australian language. The failure to adequately provide translators and interpreters for the needs of Warlpiri people when they make a court appearance is also indicative of the 'tacit' acceptance of the diminished usefulness of Warlpiri by State or Federal governments, while simultaneously strengthening the utility of English.

Those community services or commercial enterprises which are available at Yuendumu are also for the most part managed and administrated in English but they do operate in both languages and employ Warlpiri people. More will be said about the different domains and languages use in section 4.7.3.

xi) The value of language as identity altered. On a large scale (ie. nationally, even internationally to some extent), the economic, political and social benefits of knowing English appear to outweigh those of knowing Warlpiri. Within the Yuendumu community the political and social benefits of knowing Warlpiri are greater, and the language is valued as a symbol of identity. Also, a non-Warlpiri person may be more fluent in the Warlpiri language than some Warlpiri people, further distancing the link of language and identity.

xii) Pre-existing multilingualism is changed in character. Previous generations of Warlpiri speakers tended to be multilingual. Today, the younger generation at Yuendumu are inclined to be bilingual in Warlpiri and English. The apparent diglossic situation at Yuendumu, in which two languages are used in separate domains, is complex and somewhat unstable because generally Warlpiri people at Yuendumu tend to speak both languages. In other words, there does not seem to be a clear separation of domains for language use and the switching between codes seems to depend unevenly on factors such as context and audience (this will be discussed more fully in 4.7.4). However, it is also interesting to note that language mixing which occurs in the diglossic situation of Yuendumu can give the impression of 'semilingual' competence. While bilingualism is defined as having full fluency and normal adult proficiency in two languages, and is measured according to phonological, grammatical, lexical, semantic, and stylistic variables, as Romaine (1989:253) points out the 'notion of balanced bilingualism is an ideal' and that 'all bilinguals are semilingual to a certain extent'.

4.7 Changes in speech events

Any social, cultural, and physical change in a linguistic environment results in a change of context for speech events, and consequently a change in those events themselves. Following Hymes' (1964) list of speech components, I shall note some of the changes to speech events for Warlpiri at Yuendumu, with special reference to the use of English. In some instances, however, the discussion of these speech events may result in an overlap of categories and some repetition.

4.7.1 The Message Form

This category is concerned with 'how things are said' or the 'means of expression' for members of a community (Hymes 1972:59). Various sociolinguistic factors such as context, content and topic which are discussed later also influence how things are said. Also, the language background of the interlocutors may determine whether Warlpiri, English or another Indigenous language is used and the kin relationships of the interlocutors may determine the register.

With reference to Aboriginal communities, Malcolm (1980/82:55-60) lists 'means of expression' as: greetings (addressing, opening communication); responding ('the given word'); conveying news ('broadcasting'); airing grievances ('proclaiming'); declaring retribution ('moral violence', rebuking: 'growling'); feigning ('gammoning', 'humbugging'); joking; thanking; leave-taking; and bad talk'. In general, many of the traditional means of expression listed above continue alongside non-traditional forms at Yuendumu. I will briefly look at just a few of these means of expression: greetings, leave taking, conveying news, and the airing grievances.

While greetings or leave takings are generally optional or non-existent in traditional Aboriginal interaction (Malcolm 1980/82:55) there are a number of stock phrases used by Warlpiri speakers, to open or close the channels of communication, for example: *Yuwa!:* Hey!, *Wurra-wiyi!: Wara!:* Look at that!, Hang-on, wait a minute! and *Ngayi:* really. Some of the non-traditional forms which have been adopted by Warlpiri speakers at Yuendumu, especially when speaking with a non-Warlpiri person include: 'hello' and 'goodbye'. Furthermore, some of the English words or phrases used by Warlpiri speakers have been adapted for traditional communicative purposes. 'Hello', for instance, also serves as a means for getting the attention of a passer-by, or as a means of alerting unseen company.

There have been some changes in the conveying of news and in the airing of grievances for Warlpiri speakers at Yuendumu. Traditionally, news is broadcast or grievances proclaimed in Warlpiri, in a public place and with an audience present who are not necessarily obliged to be attentive to the speaker. The sender of the message or grievance may be the person speaking

or alternatively a messenger may be used. Modern media, such as the press, radio, television, satellite links and the Internet (see 4.6 vi) and the postal service, have increased the options as to how a message may be conveyed, a grievance proclaimed, and have also increased the size of the audience. For the most part, modern media favours the use of English but there are exceptions. For instance, at Yuendumu, a local bilingual magazine featuring community news, *Junga Yimi* (Mifsud 1998), is produced three times a year, and a daily radio program in Warlpiri is broadcast from Yuendumu. Local news is posted on community noticeboards in both English and Warlpiri, and important messages or grievances brought up at school or council meetings are given in both languages, highlighting the complex bilingual situation at Yuendumu. Modern-day forms of graffiti are used by the community's young adults and teenagers, often to broadcast the status of their relationships, and it is usually in English but special codes are also used, for example 'OTLS': only two lovers (i.e. that they are a couple).[9]

4.7.2 Message Content

The category of content is primarily concerned with topic.

At Yuendumu, both traditional and non-traditional topics of conversation are discussed in Warlpiri. The Warlpiri lexicon is continually expanding and the language is able to cover a wide range of non-traditional topics by the coining of new Warlpiri words or the phonological assimilation of borrowed English words (Bavin 1988). The Summer Institute of Linguistics Bible translation project,[10] the growing list of Warlpiri literature (e.g ranging from readers used in the school to texts on a range of topics including recent histories)[11], and the implementation of a bilingual education program which obliges Warlpiri to be used as a language of instruction, have all assisted in language growth thus enabling the range of topics able to be discussed in Warlpiri to be expanded. Codeswitching, however, does occur with reference to topic, and English may be more likely to be used if the topic covers non-traditional material. I noted that in church services conducted at Yuendumu, phrases of

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[9]For an example of graffiti at Yuendumu and an article by Christine Nicholls on the topic, see Appendix X.

[10]The Warlpiri translation is based primarily on Lajamanu Warlpiri.

[11]For a detailed study on Warlpiri literature see Gale (1997).

English were frequently scattered throughout prayers said predominantly in Warlpiri (more will be said on codeswitching in section 4.7.4).

Contact with 'western' culture has somewhat diminished the number of contexts in which traditional topics can be discussed. Disruption to initiation and ceremonial rites has meant that the use of restricted narratives, restricted ceremonials, and reserved words, as listed by Malcolm (1980/82:62), has possibly diminished. Consequently, the language of these restricted or reserved topics fails to be passed on. On the other hand, certain topics have become less restricted as a result of contact. For example, information traditionally regarded as 'women's business' is readily available through the media. Pregnancy and birth may be explicitly detailed but not necessarily the women's ceremonies relating to such matters. Pre- and post-natal classes run by the clinic at Yuendumu provide a more detailed 'scientific' message than traditional knowledge incorporating such issues as conception and birth.

4.7.3 Setting

The component of setting is concerned with 'the time and place of a speech act and, in general, to the physical circumstances' (Hymes 1972:60). Malcolm (1980:65) notes that the 'physical setting (in combination with other factors) has a clear bearing on variation in Aboriginal speech use'.

The time of speech events were traditionally governed by natural phenomena such as the shadows of the sun, phases of the moon, and 'seasonal' and other indicators of ceremony. The time clock and the non-traditional activities which are governed by it, impose a different sort of regulation of speech events, one that is perhaps more divorced from the greater environment. (The notion of punctuality is reflected through the adherence of digital time counted by hours, minutes and seconds.) In a formal setting, such as during court proceedings, the time clock regulates who may speak, when and for how long. At Yuendumu, school hours are signalled by an alarm that echoes throughout the community.

Traditionally, the main setting of some speech acts in a Warlpiri community are out in the open and very much in public. Consequently a number of communication strategies adopted

by the Warlpiri people reflect this lack of privacy. For instance, the right of an audience not to listen, the right of an individual not to respond and the preference for asking indirect over direct questions. Specific locations in traditional lands fulfil different functions in accordance with Dreaming stories and ceremonial activity. Traditional topics activated by the setting are almost always told in Warlpiri first, frequently by an elder and accompanied by a sand drawing, and later translated into English if need be. Also traditionally, certain ceremonial areas had restricted access, in which case the setting governed the participants of the ceremonial activity and of the speech acts.

At Yuendumu, there is still a preference for people to gather in an outdoor setting for most of their social and ceremonial activities. A spot beneath a group of trees near the council office has been a favourite meeting place for many of the residents but many of the trees have been recently cut down because they are not native to Australia and are considered an unwanted plant, and also to make room for building development. People tend to socialise informally outside of their homes, under the verandah, rather than inside (perhaps because it is cooler) and traditional ceremonies such as *purlapa* and mourning rituals also are conducted outside. Grievances are still publicly proclaimed and often settled in the public arena.

The development of non-traditional settlements such as Yuendumu introduced certain social support structures, including administrative, educational and medical, commercial and social activity, and the buildings to accommodate them. As a result in 1997, Yuendumu had: a council office, a school, a church, buildings that housed Warlpiri Media and the Tanami Network, a health clinic, a child care centre, a recreation centre, two shops, a Men's Museum[12], one art centre (Warlukurlangu Artists), one craft centre (Yurrampi Crafts), and a Police Station.[13] These buildings act as the setting for a wide range of speech events, both traditional and non-traditional and both Warlpiri and English. There is perhaps an emphasis upon the use of English with regards to non-traditional 'formal' activity such as court proceedings, or when speaking with a non-Warlpiri speaker. However, Warlpiri is used

[12]According to a map from the 1980's there is also a Women's Museum which I failed to locate.
[13]See Map 4.

amongst the employees themselves for personal and work related matters including: for administration purposes (e.g. at the council offices); for communication with clients (e.g. at the shop or the clinic); and for instruction (e.g. at the school). For instance, although English is the main language used at the clinic and interpreters are employed from the local community, the clinic is also staffed by a number of Aboriginal health workers who use Warlpiri amongst themselves and with patients. The degree of privacy or secrecy attained by these settings may in the long term influence the communication strategies mentioned above as the audience becomes more clearly defined. But just as the non-traditional setting may reshape the traditional speech act, traditional custom may shape the physical setting. If attendance of a public meeting is required by those in an avoidance relationship a screen division will need to be set up.[14]

4.7.4 Scene

By scene is meant, 'the "psychological setting" or the cultural definition of an occasion as a certain type of scene' (Hymes 1972:60). The speakers perception of the scene may result in stylistic shifts in language. As socialisation instructs members when to make the 'appropriate' shift of linguistic style, a departure from the 'appropriate' linguistic code or style may be a deliberate misusage intended as a social statement or may indicate ignorance of social norms (Laughren 1981:13-14). Indeed, incomplete socialisation as a result of the social changes brought about through contact with English language and culture, and the dislocation or population drift from traditional lands will alter the performance in, and shift of, the different codes and styles of Warlpiri speakers.

Different scenes include factors such as the degree of formality (written versus spoken language), the physical setting (traditional lands and language are inextricably linked), whether the context is sacred or secular (ceremonial versus administrative), the age of the participants in the speech act (e.g. peer group or hierarchical relationship), or whether the

[14]If someone is unable to enter a room because of an avoidance relationship it said that there is 'no room' for them, even though there are a number of chairs available.

participants are part of the 'in-group' or the 'out-group' (e.g. with reference to kin relations) (Malcolm 1980/82:65-68).

Although Yuendumu is a multilingual community, it may be defined as essentially bilingual because of the emphasis upon the usage of Warlpiri and English. A consequence of this bilingualism is codeswitching between Warlpiri and English, the main function of which is to convey social meaning (McConvell 1985:59). Lee (1987:337) categorises codeswitching into two types, situational (e.g. setting) and metaphorical (e.g topic). McConvell (1985:119) adds a third type, meaning-bearing (e.g. to define interaction and relationships, to encode a statement about a specific attitude or situation).

Clyne (1991:245) notes a number of linguistic factors which are able to trigger codeswitching. He states that '[c]ertain words of ambiguous language affiliation also trigger off a switch from one language to another', and that codeswitching can occur in anticipation of and subsequent to the trigger word. The main categories of words that trigger codeswitching are: lexical transfers (lexemes transfer form and meaning); homophonous diamorphs (morphs in the two languages that sound similar); proper nouns; and, compromise forms. The use of proper nouns (e.g. Alice Springs, video, basketball, football, town etc.) seem most likely to act as trigger words for Warlpiri speakers. The following example is taken from a student's Warlpiri language workbook (see Appendix IX).

Ngaju	yanu	manyu-karrimi	**marbles game**	**and**	ngulajangka
I	*went*	*to play*	*marbles*	*and*	*after that*

ngaju	nyanyi	pina	yanu	yuwarli	ngunaja.
I	*seeing*	*again*	*went*	*home*	*laid down.*

Ngaju yanu manyu-karrimi **marbles game and** ngulajangka ngaju nyanyi pina yanu yuwarli ngunaja.[15]

I went to play **marbles and** after watching I returned home again and laid down.

[15]This Warlpiri sentence differs from 'Classic' or standard Warlpiri in that it lacks a pronominal enclitic '-rna' on the first person singular subject, and the word 'yuwarli' (home) lacks the allative suffix '-kirra' or locative suffix '-rlka'.

McConvell (1985:97) notes explanations offered by Aboriginal people as to why codeswitching occurs:

> *(a) temporarily forgetting a word or phrase and substituting an equivalent in the other language; and*
> *(b) changing to a language because the idea cannot be adequately expressed in the other language.*

He also lists a number of linguistic and social factors that may trigger codeswitching in the speech act of Indigenous Australian people (McConvell 1985:95-106). Linguistic factors include: no equivalent term (e.g. kinship terminology); different semantic organisation (e.g. the labelling of body parts); and, absence of concept (e.g. terminology relating to ceremonial activity). Social factors include: the interlocutors (e.g. as members of the 'in-group' or 'out-group', the relative status of the interlocutors, the shared linguistic repertoire); the setting (e.g. the various domains of language use - school, home etc.); and, the topic (e.g. traditional cf. non-traditional).

From my observations, codeswitching between Warlpiri and English is relatively common at Yuendumu. In some instances this occurs according to the degree of formality of the situation. If the situation is formal and concerns a traditional matter (e.g. ceremonial rites), it is less likely that codeswitching from Warlpiri to English will occur, but if the situation is formal and concerns a non-traditional matter it is more likely that codeswitching from English to Warlpiri will occur.[16] If however, the situation is less formal, codeswitching in either direction is more likely to occur. Non-traditional topics are also more likely to initiate codeswitching. For example a 'non-traditional' concept, such as guilt, may result in the speaker switching from Warlpiri to English in mid-sentence and back again. Bavin and Shopen (1991:105) have observed that uncertainty about how to express new concepts is a cause of language mixing, where sentences emerge half in Warlpiri and half in English. As noted in the previous section (4.7.3), although codeswitching may occur within the same setting, the physical location is not a primary motivating factor for Warlpiri speakers at Yuendumu. McConvell (1985:96/103) also observes this to be the case for speakers of other Indigenous Australian languages.

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[16]Rather "language choice for monolingual discourse" (Nash: examiner's report).

The change in education policy, from English only to a bilingual system, may be reflected in the manner of codeswitching according to the age of the participants in the speech act. The English-only education system, pre-1974, supported the notion of strictly separate domains for the use of English and Warlpiri and thereby encouraging the development of a diglossic situation. In contrast, the bilingual education system, post-1974, encouraged the use English and Warlpiri equally across all domains and consequently codeswitching regardless of domain may be more prevalent among the younger generations. Furthermore, the younger generations have had more exposure to English thus increasing the likelihood of codeswitching.

The shared linguistic repertoires of the interlocutors also act as a trigger for codeswitching at Yuendumu. Limited Warlpiri language skills of a non-Warlpiri, or a non-Indigenous resident, may result in codeswitching to English after the initial greetings are conveyed in Warlpiri. Also, codeswitching may occur to either include or exclude a member of the 'out-group'. In the classroom situation at Yuendumu for example, where the teacher is non-Warlpiri and the students wish to discuss a personal matter they may switch to Warlpiri.

To adequately investigate the question of codeswitching at Yuendumu goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. In conclusion, however, two important points must be made: firstly, codeswitching within domains, as is the case in Yuendumu, may be symptomatic of language shift; and secondly, frequent codeswitching to English, particularly of phrases and sentences, facilitates syntactic transference (i.e. the fixed SVO word order of English).

4.7.5 Speaker/Sender

Speaker/sender refers to the communicator of information but not necessarily its source, just as the hearer of the message is not necessarily its addressee (Malcolm 1980/82:68).

Malcolm (1980/82:69) notes that in traditional Aboriginal societies, spokespersons were frequently used to convey messages on behalf of the group, as a means of communication for those in avoidance relationships, or to make contact between communities. He also notes (1980/82:69) that authority to speak about a subject may have been assigned to a certain

individual and that the entrusting of 'sacred' information was attained through initiation. Furthermore, in the post contact situation, there has been a decrease in the number of Aboriginal spokespersons, while there has been a relative increase in the number of non-Aboriginal spokespersons representing a distant authority (e.g. State and Federal government) (Mühlhäusler 1989:151).

At Yuendumu, Elders still represent the group and hold key positions within the non-traditional social structures, such as the local council. However, the introduction of alternative means of communication, such as telephones, letters, and television broadcasts, together with the weakening of avoidance relationships, has reduced the need for messengers as personal deliverers of information. Also, if ceremonial rites are not able to be performed, the keeper of certain sacred information is unable to fulfil the traditional role as the communicator of this information. Complementing the traditional practice of having a spokesperson at the community level, there has been an increase in the number of Indigenous people acting as spokespersons on behalf of Indigenous Australians at the state or national level (e.g. Land Councils, ATSIC etc.). The appointment of nationally based Indigenous representatives favours the use of English as a lingua franca (in some instances Aboriginal English).

Non-Aboriginal spokesperson representing a distant authority (e.g. social services, law enforcement, mining companies), who visit Yuendumu, tend to use English only. If necessary, translators or interpreters are used, thereby further reducing the usefulness of Warlpiri in Warlpiri country. Alternatively, the missionaries who are situated in Warlpiri country have initiated translation projects and have thereby increased the topics which are able to be discussed in Warlpiri and domains for language use.

Additionally, in sharp contrast to traditional ways, is the high information culture of mainstream Australia, in which information is 'free' and readily accessible, especially through the mass media. Notions such as speaking on behalf of oneself rather than on behalf of the group, 'responsibility' attained through age rather than initiation ceremonies, gender equality, and free speech have affected the role and identity of the communicator of information. At

times, there may be conflict as to who may, or may not, be considered by the group to have the 'authority', to speak on behalf of the whole.

4.7.6 Addressor

By addressor is meant the speaker who communicates his or her own message.

Certain restrictions are faced by the addressor in traditional Aboriginal societies. There may be restrictions in speech in accordance with whom the addressor is addressing (eg. an Elder, or an uninitiated person). Avoidance and kin relationships generally determine whom the addressor is able to address. Other restrictions may be due to the age, or the gender of the addressee (Malcolm 1980/82:70-71).

At Yuendumu, social changes as a result of the contact situation have slightly weakened traditional restrictions faced by the addressor, including those relating to avoidance relationships (*yirdinjamarda* or *yikirrinji*). The addressor not only has a greater audience due to advanced technology and mass media but also has a relatively unrestricted and indiscriminate audience. There is also a change in the codes available for the addressor to use (e.g. English, Aboriginal English, Kriol etc.).

One of the major traditional avoidance relationships in Warlpiri society has been between mother-in-law and son-in-law. The avoidance language, 'mother-in-law language', is referred to by the Warlpiri as '*kurriji-nyanuku jaru*' (Laughren 1981:10).

> *Ideally, they should not sit together, travel close together, walk on the same tracks, use each other's names, and they should exchange goods and messages through a third person such as the woman's daughter. Special words are used by women to talk about their sons-in-law, and by men to talk about their mothers-in-law, her sisters and brothers. (Laughren et al. 1996:1990-191)*

Laughren et al. (1996:191-192) also note restrictions due to gender affecting the language of the addressor. For instance, adult siblings of the opposite sex do not generally refer to each other by name or by the general sibling terms, such as *kapirdi* (older sister), *ngawurru*

(younger sister) or *papardi* (older brother), *kukurnu* (younger brother), but rather as *kari-pardu* (the other) to refer to sisters and *yakuri* (the sweaty) to refer to brothers.

4.7.7 Hearer and Addressee

The one directly addressed is the addressee, whereas the hearer is present 'when another or others are being addressed' (Malcolm 1980/82:72).

As has already been noted (4.7.3) traditional life is relatively public and open, consequently much is heard or witnessed. Just as there are restrictions upon whom the addressor may address, there are also restrictions upon who may listen, either as the hearer or the addressee. Again these restrictions particularly affect those in avoidance relationships, and speech concerning sacred information and audience exclusion may be achieved through physical withdrawal or codeswitching (Malcolm 1980/82:73). Malcolm (1980/82:73-74) notes two 'rights' of the audience: the right not to listen, and the right to interject, and furthermore that the addressee has the right not to respond.

In contrast to the traditional rights of Indigenous audiences, non-Indigenous Australian cultural norms generally demand an attentive and quiet audience in a diverse number of contexts particularly in a formal setting, and an addressee generally feels obliged to reply to a question. Differences in 'audience rights' occasionally leads to conflict and misunderstanding between the two cultures, particularly in courts of law and in educational institutions. Non-traditional social institutions at Yuendumu, such as the school, council office and police station are contained within an architecture that is relatively closed and private and which facilitates restrictions upon what may be heard and by whom, again in direct contrast to the open spaces of traditional social interaction. Furthermore, some traditional Australian Aboriginal restrictions on the hearer and addressee are in turn not always observed or respected by non-Aboriginal Australian society, as has been demonstrated by earlier anthropological and linguistic studies (e.g. Meggitt 1965).

4.7.8 Purposes - Outcomes

By purposes or outcomes, is meant the '[c]onventionally recognised and expected outcomes' of the speech event by the community (Hymes 1972:61).

Speech may be used for social control, a use, which according to Mühlhäusler (1989:153), is probably a 'sociolinguistic universal'. Malcolm (1980:76-77) notes that in Aboriginal societies, '[w]ords were highly valued, closely guarded and eagerly sought', and that the power of social control in language is reflected in acts such as 'singing'.[17] The erosion of social structure through contact in some instances has resulted in incomplete initiation. This has resulted in an interruption in the passing on of 'secret' words, or a loss of respect for them, which in turn has weakened the strength of the language in social control.

In Yuendumu, despite the continuation of initiation ceremonies and a continued strong belief in the power of sorcery, much of the power or social control emanates from an external law enforcement and government body operating almost exclusively in English. However, any important messages announced at the school for instance, were always repeated in Warlpiri by one of the school's senior teachers. This action not only ensures that the message is understood by everyone in the audience but it also indicates that the message is endorsed by the Warlpiri community signifying its hold on authority and social control.

Speech use may also serve as a form of group identity. At Yuendumu, Warlpiri, in all its varieties, remains a strong symbol of identity. If the language is 'lost', identity and connection with the land or place may become crucial. According to a Warlpiri Elder at Yuendumu[18], in Lajamanu, Warlpiri is spoken less by the younger generations and Kriol has been adopted. The use of Kriol may serve to distinguish its speakers from English speaking Australians and many Aboriginal people do identify with the language and claim it as their own (Sandefur & Harris 1986:189-190): 'Aboriginals in many locations have developed Kriol into a unifying

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[17]Malcolm (1980/82:77) citing Berndt and Berndt (1964:268,1970a:144), informs that the sorcerer's act of 'singing' would be used to execute a transgressor of traditional law.
[18]Aware that the topic of language loss and identity was spoken about with some caution by my informants in general, I feel that it is necessary I do not identify my source formally in this instance.

intra-community mode of communication that still allows them to retain their Aboriginal identity' (Sandefur 1981:252-6). It has been noted by Nicholls (examiner's report 1 January 2000) that the younger generations at Lajamanu do not speak Kriol but rather speak what is occasionally referred to by older people as 'mix-mix' of which a defining feature is 'its lack of linguistic stability'. That my informant referred to the language spoken by the younger generation at Lajamanu as Kriol is not atypical, as the term 'Kriol' is used to describe and identify different varieties of speech including Kriol-influenced Aboriginal English and 'simplified' English (Sandefur 1980:39 Sandefur 1981:254 & Sandefur & Harris 1986:180-186). Moreover, what people say they speak is not always in accordance with linguistic definitions of the said language.

Another purpose of speech use is for instruction with the expected outcome of learning. In the school environment specific speech events are directed toward formal learning. This is quite different in a traditional setting where the majority of learning is achieved through observation and imitation.[19] My investigations into attitudes toward Warlpiri and English at Yuendumu, indicate that the young people consider English to be important in order to get a good education and employment (see Survey results Chapter Two). It is also the language of social mobility, for as Mühlhäusler observes (1989:153), English has increasingly 'become the tool for social advance and participation in modern society'. However, for the Warlpiri people at Yuendumu, the importance of maintaining and developing Warlpiri for the instruction of traditional knowledge and mainstream education, and for communicative purposes at the local level was signalled by the development of the bilingual program and resources development unit.

Prior to 1974, English was the language of instruction at Yuendumu School and Warlpiri discouraged. Few students, however, became literate or fluent in English (Baarda 1994:206). Most of the Aboriginal teacher assistants did not assist in teaching, rather their help was

[19]Malcolm (1980/82:76) provides an example of speech use in an Indigenous society where it is intended to confuse and to test the learner.

sought as translators and to perform other auxiliary tasks such as cleaning and maintenance (Baarda 1994:206).

In the middle of 1974, a bilingual program was started at Yuendumu school.[20] Much of the overall success and continuation of the program is the result of the hard work and support from community members. From a linguistic perspective, the bilingual program was greatly assisted by Ken Hale's initial work on the Warlpiri language during the 1960's (grammar and orthography) and again, on his return to Yuendumu in 1974[21]. The continuing work of other linguists, such as Mary Laughren, Robert Hoogenraad, and Wendy Baarda has also been of great benefit to the program.

A vital part of the bilingual program at Yuendumu School, has been the Bilingual Resource Development Unit (BRDU), first established in 1974 under the name of Warlpiri Literature Production Unit. Since its inception, this literature production unit has produced and published approximately 400 titles, many in 'Yuendumu Warlpiri', and has provided a broad range of teaching materials, from picture books for first graders to more advanced readers for students in the higher levels. The readers are being increasingly written in Warlpiri first, but in the past they have been translated from other Australian languages (eg. Pintupi), or English. They cover a wide range of topics from 'The Dreaming' (*Jukurrpa*) to Warlpiri history and customs. The BRDU is also responsible for a community magazine called *Junga Yimi*, which has articles in both English and Warlpiri and contributions from both the school and the wider community. As Baarda (1994:208) points out, the magazine shows that 'almost anything can be written in Warlpiri'.

As Warlpiri is the community language and there is little reinforcement of English outside of school, the overall aim of the bilingual program is for an effective balance in the instruction of Warlpiri and English that will provide students with a solid grounding of literacy and fluency

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[20]Further information about the initiation of the bilingual program at Yuendumu School can be found in Baarda (1994) and McKay (1996:113-117).
[21]Lothar Jagst refined Warlpiri orthography in 1973.

in both languages.[22] In 1997, most teachers and all teacher assistants spoke Warlpiri as a first language. School administrative matters, however, were generally conducted in English, and official documentation appeared to be in English only.

In 1997, the basic outline of the bilingual program was as follows. In the initial grades Warlpiri is used and English is introduced through oral work, such as listening to stories and learning the English word for everyday objects. As the children progress through to the higher grades there is an increasing emphasis upon becoming literate in Warlpiri. In the fourth grade, English literacy is introduced, and while both languages continue to be taught concurrently, there is a gradual increase in the use of English as the language of instruction. At the post-primary level, students are taught almost exclusively in English, with the addition of at least one hour of Warlpiri language and one hour of Warlpiri culture every week.

In general, formal and informal instruction in the classroom were conducted in Warlpiri, with the exception of the post primary classes and English language lessons, and most classroom signs and notices were in both languages. Communication between students tended to be in Warlpiri, both in the classroom and in the playground. At formal occasions, such as assemblies, songs were sung in Warlpiri and any important messages conveyed in English were translated into Warlpiri by one of the senior teachers, (usually with some codeswitching occurring).

English is the main language of instruction for secondary education and there is no opportunity for students to study Warlpiri at the secondary level. This is unfortunate, as post-primary students are at an impressionable age, and as Baarda (1994:213) notes, for this age group there is a need to 'promote self esteem and respect for the language'. It is also at this age when any earlier language learning tends to be either consolidated or lost.[23] Typically, students either attend a boarding school, usually one of two schools near Alice

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[22]In 1983, a list of revised aims for the bilingual program at Yuendumu were published in the *Bilingual Education Newsletter*, 1983, No.1:4-5.

[23]In order to consolidate, maintain and develop the language skills of post-primary children gained during primary education in Australia, Jo Lo Bianco, in 1996, sought expressions of interest for the development of 'language immersion camps'.

Springs which cater for school children from remote areas, or do a Darwin based correspondence course through TAFE. Some students even travel to major, but distant, centres such as Adelaide or Darwin to receive their secondary education.

In the Northern Territory, tertiary education is available at Batchelor College (which offers a wide range of subjects, including teacher training and linguistics at a number of campuses), at TAFE, and at the Northern Territory University. The Adult Education Centre at Yuendumu provides access to tutors and lecturers from TAFE, who are able to assist Batchelor College or TAFE students with their studies. English is also the language of instruction for tertiary education. Although courses at Batchelor College are designed to help to maintain community languages, in 1997 no courses were offered in Warlpiri either at Batchelor College or at the University of Darwin. The Institute for Aboriginal Development (IAD) in Alice Springs was the only educational institution in the Northern Territory (outside of community based programs) offering courses in Warlpiri language in 1997.

So, although Warlpiri children at Yuendumu receive a good grounding in Warlpiri language, there is little to continue Warlpiri language learning after primary school. Despite a number of publications in Warlpiri, in general the language has a limited literacy function. Warlpiri functions primarily as a language of social communication, and not as a language of academic study, commerce, or administration.

The importance of maintaining the bilingual program, however, is not to be underestimated. It plays a fundamental role in language maintenance. Yuendumu was one of three 'Warlpiri' schools with a bilingual program, and since its inception there has been a decrease in the adoption of English words by the children of that community (Baarda 1994:209). In 1998, the Northern Territory Government decided to phase out bilingual education programs. The consequences of this action remains to be seen. However, according to informants at Yuendumu, in Lajamanu and Willowra, where the bilingual programs were discontinued, there has been a marked decrease in the use and transmission of Warlpiri language. Furthermore, the use of Warlpiri in the school, not only improves the perceived status of the language by its own speakers and outsiders (Bavin and Shopen 1991:105), it also means

increased employment and education for Warlpiri people and the fostering of Warlpiri language and culture.[24] The importance of linguistic diversity (Mühlhäusler 1996) and the value of language as the repository of cultural information and as a marker of identity can not be underestimated.

4.7.9 Purposes - Goals

Purposes - goals, relates to the purpose of the speech event from the perspective of the individuals engaged in it, in contrast to the community's standpoint (Hymes 1972:61). Furthermore, '[w]ith respect both to outcomes and goals, the conventionally expected or ascribed must be distinguished from the purely situational or personal, and from the latent and unintended' (Hymes 1972:61-62).

Malcolm (1980/82:77-78) lists several goals of speech use for Aboriginal societies some of which I have noted with reference to the situation at Yuendumu. These goals include: the goal of relaxing in company; for the goal of desensitising to unpleasant fact; the goal of alerting unseen company; the goal of evasion; and the goal of obtaining information.

The goal of relaxing in company in which the emphasis is upon social interaction with little talk 'devoted to utilitarian matters' (Malcolm 1980/82:77-78). For Warlpiri people at Yuendumu, Warlpiri is the primary language of this type of social interaction. Occasionally codeswitching to English may occur but from my observations it is brief and little more than a few words.[25] If the group deliberately wishes to include a non-Warlpiri speaker they may switch to English entirely but usually there are occasional slips back into Warlpiri as the speaker may temporarily forget how, or feel unable to express something in English, or one of the other linguistic or social factors listed in 4.7.4 that may trigger codeswitching.

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[24]See McKay (1996) re: Warlpiri language being taught at a school in Victoria.
[25]It is important to note that my observations may portray an inaccurate picture of language use because my very presence may have altered the typical speech styles or use. For instance, as a member of the 'out-group' Warlpiri may have been deliberately used around me as a means of exclusion from the content of discussion.

The goal of alerting unseen company by calling out 'Hello' or '*Yuwa*' (Hey! Hi!) before approaching, so as not to be seen as sneaking up is used by both Warlpiri and non-Warlpiri at Yuendumu.

The goal of evasion may be achieved through silence or by non-verbal speech use, typically through hand-signals or a nod of the head. Unlike mainstream Australian society in which there is a perceived need to answer questions and evasiveness would be seen as dishonest or wanting to hide something, as mentioned earlier (4.7.7), in traditional Australian communities the addressee has the right not to respond.

For the seeking of information, an indirect manner is far more common than direct questioning. Eades (1991) has provided a detailed sketch of the differences between communication strategies in Aboriginal English and Australian English and the difficulties that such differences create, which I have summarised in 2.2.

4.7.10 Key

This refers to the 'tone, manner, or spirit in which [a speech] act is done (Hymes 1972:62). Some of the different keys in Aboriginal speech events identified by Malcolm (1980/82:79-80) are 'strong talk', 'respectful style', 'talking light', 'rough talk', and 'high talk'.

Strong talk is 'characterised by deliberation, above average volume, and a direct address to the individual' and unlike European interpretations of it as lending importance to subject matter, it may be interpreted by Aboriginal people as 'an expression of animosity' (Malcolm 1980/82:79). Indeed, Warlpiri speakers at Yuendumu tend to loudly proclaim their annoyance in Warlpiri, less frequently in English, when angry or upset about a certain issue. The code chosen, however, may depend more on the background and relationship of the interlocutors involved than on the situation.

Talking light may have a number of meanings such as in reference to casual speech or other language groups (Malcolm 1980/82:79). At Yuendumu it is used to refer to speech that has

been heavily affected by English (eg. Warlpiri at Lajamanu, p.c. Kay Ross 9/97). The term 'talking light' may also refer to phonological variation (Meggitt 1965:47). A prominent feature of baby talk is phonological variation, and Laughren (1984:80) notes that it has been described as *kankarlu*, meaning up, high, light, and easy. (In contrast the speech of adults (Traditional Warlpiri) has been described as *pirrjirdi*, meaning heavy, hard, solid and difficult.) Other terms used to describe 'baby talk' are *wangkami lirra wakirdi*: to speak on the edge or tip of the tongue[26], and also, *jaajaa-wangkami*, and *yajayaja-wangkami*, terms 'which illustrate onomatopoetically the Warlpiri perception of this speech style' (Laughren 1984:80).

4.7.11 Channels

By channels is meant 'choice of oral, written, telegraphic, semaphore, or other medium of transmission of speech' (Hymes 1972:62-63). Malcolm (1980:80-82) lists a number of channels that may be found in Aboriginal societies, including: singing, kinesic expression, paralinguistic expression, and graphic expression.

Forms of kinesic expression include the use of traditional dance for ceremony illustrating *Jukurrpa* (The Dreaming). The meeting of two very diverse cultures at Yuendumu has resulted in the development and performance of an Easter Purlapa (i.e. a Passion Play in traditional dance and Warlpiri song). Non-traditional singing styles sacred and secular have also influenced contemporary Warlpiri forms. For example, many Christian hymns have been translated into Warlpiri and there are a number of contemporary Warlpiri bands playing rock, country and reggae.

Communication using the body is also common at Yuendumu. Hand signals may be used for hunting and there is also an elaborate sign language used by widows while in mourning (Kendon 1988). My own observations were that young Warlpiri women and teenage girls also frequently use hand signals to convey commands such as 'wait' and Baarda (n.d.), notes that the ability of small children to 'interpret non-verbal communication is prized by parents' (see

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[26] *wangkami:* to speak

also, Teasdale & Teasdale 1993:6). Malcolm (1980/82:81) notes that amongst Australian Aboriginals wailing is a widespread paralinguistic expression. Yuendumu is no exception, where wailing is part of the mourning ritual (i.e. sorry business) and initiation.

As an oral language there was no tradition of Warlpiri writing in the 'western' sense. An orthography for the Warlpiri language was introduced in the 1960's by Hale and later standardised through literature production, and the Bible translation project by Lothar Jagst, in the early 1970's.[27] The increasing status of the written word directly corresponds to the decreasing status of 'secret' words in an oral tradition, where possession of the word was more important. There were, however, a number of traditional forms of graphic expression such as engravings in stone, body marking and painting, markings on sacred objects, and drawing in sand (usually while speaking).[28] These traditional drawings on rocks, bodies and in sand depicting *Jukurrpa* (The Dreaming) are now reproduced onto canvas using acrylic paints for the commercial market. Traditionally such a work involved two people: the *kirda* (the father, owner) to whom the Dreaming story and land belong and who must sit quietly and can not talk to the *kurdungurlu* (the teacher servant, worker, policeman) who does the painting (Warlukurlangu Artists 1992:11). These paintings and the stories they depict are now familiar to a much wider audience, Indigenous and non-Indigenous, nationally and internationally. As a result, a certain degree of censorship in these paintings has been necessary so as to not make secret information explicit. Their production also fulfils a new function, other than ceremonial, and that is to produce profitable art.

Other semiotic systems include smoke signals, the arrangement of leaves, grass and stones, or body scars and hairstyles (Malcolm 1980/82:82). Many of these continue to be used at Yuendumu, particularly those associated for ritual. For instance, during sorry business, leafy branches are used to sweep the streets and fire ash is rubbed onto the skin. The use of smoke signals by early European explorers to the Tanami region had an unexpected consequence. On one occasion a smoke signal which was meant to act as a beacon for a pilot was answered by

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[27]For detailed information concerning the history of Warlpiri literature see Gale (1997).
[28]An interesting analysis of an engraving of an aircraft on a Warlpiri pearlshell pendant can be found in Barwick (1982:1).

local inhabitants with fires from several directions rendering it useless for navigation (Kimber 1982:52).

An increase in modern channels of communication, such as computers and telephones, is mirrored to some extent by a decrease in traditional channels of communication, such as smoke signals and intermediary methods, such as radio communication links. Furthermore, modern channels of communication tend to filter out many of the associated factors that comprise a speech act, such as body language. At Yuendumu School there has been an attempt to provide students with a satellite link-up to teachers of the correspondence course in Darwin. This program has been largely unsuccessful (from the perspective of the students) for a number of reasons, one being that facial expressions and other body language signals were not able to be clearly transmitted. Modern channels of communication also tend to be incompatible with any great variation in language. They tend to promote standard forms of language (e.g. spellings) and tend to use the English language above others (Mühlhäusler 1989:159). With the assistance of Warlpiri Media and the Tanami Network both located at Yuendumu, Warlpiri is used in video productions for television broadcasts, radio programs, Internet sites (e.g. Yuendumu's Home Page[29]), and CD Roms (e.g. *Yanardilyi* Cockatoo Creek 1998[30]), that are written and spoken in Warlpiri with some English translation.

4.7.12 Forms of Speech

The forms of speech refer to the 'verbal resources of a community', its language, dialect, codes, varieties, and registers (Hymes 1972:63). The various forms of speech of a community may include 'varieties indexical either of the language used to address certain groups (e.g. baby talk, mother-in-law languages), or varieties associated with certain social groups (e.g. hunters, females, initiated persons, old people)' (Mühlhäusler 1989:159). Malcolm (1980/82:83-86) notes that variations in forms of speech may occur according to age, gender, socio-religous status, occupation, moiety, esoteric, relationship languages, names avoidance, swearing and obscenity, silence, and multilingualism.

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[29]See Appendix XII for web page addresses.
[30]See Appendix XI for press cutting on Yanardilyi CD Rom.

Well documented Warlpiri forms of speech include: an esoteric form, the antonym language or *tjiliwiri* used in the initiation for novices in seclusion where opposites are used for nouns and verbs (Hale 1971:473); a sign language which is used by widows during their period of mourning and seclusion (Kendon 1988); and baby talk, which has a modified vocabulary and is phonetically simplified, and as the name implies, is used according to age (Laughren 1984). Some of the baby talk kin terms in Warlpiri have been adopted from English baby talk kin terms, others are more generalising than the formal terms. For example: *ngati* or *ngamardi* (mother) in formal Warlpiri is *mamiyi* or *mama* in Warlpiri baby talk, and *kapirdi* (older sister), *ngawurru* (younger sister), and *jukana* (female cousin) are all *yayi* in Warlpiri baby talk.

As mentioned in section 4.7.6 there are different forms of speech in Warlpiri according to gender and kin relationship. Some of these rules include no close proximity, no direct eye contact, no mentioning of names and no direct address. At Yuendumu avoidance languages in general are referred to as '*juul-wangkami*': to speak holding back, to speak with certain limits (Laughren 1981:9).

Variation in speech form also occurs during a period of bereavement and mourning, most notably in the terms of address used. The deceased person may be referred to as *kumanjayi* meaning 'no-name', and relatives are described in terms of their relationship to the deceased, for example, *ngalkari-puka* meaning 'maternal uncle of the deceased' (Laughren 1981:8-9). The personal name of the deceased or any similar sounding words will not be used by people in the community and codeswitching is frequently employed to make reference to the word. For instance, the English name 'Alice' was *kumanjayi* or taboo and so whenever reference was made to Alice Springs it would be called *Kumanjayi* Springs or *Yalijipiringi*.[31]

Change in social structure at Yuendumu has resulted in fewer contexts in which the different forms of speech are able to be passed on (e.g. decrease in the number of initiation rites or

[31]See Appendix III.

opportunities for linguistic socialisation); it has diminished the practicalities of observing some of the social situations which require the use of different speech forms; and in some instances, it has resulted in a rejection of traditional ways and language by young people. Furthermore, as mentioned earlier (4.6 x), the decrease in the usefulness of local languages and an emphasis on English and Warlpiri has decreased the resource possibility of other Indigenous languages for Warlpiri speakers at Yuendumu.

4.7.13 Norms of Interaction

By norms of interaction is meant 'the specific behaviours and properties that are attach to speaking' by the community (Hymes 1972:63).

Strong forces acting upon speech use in traditional Aboriginal societies are notions of shame and the desire for group harmony (Malcolm 1980/82:87). Some of the traditional communication strategies commonly used have been noted in Chapter Two, section 2.2 and they include a preference for indirect questions and deference to group opinion rather than the promotion of individual opinion. Communication strategies such as these, contrast sharply with those of mainstream Australian society in which direct questioning is the main method of seeking information (e.g. at school, social welfare forms, and law enforcement), and the expression of individual opinion is rewarded.

Moreover, in Warlpiri society, kin relationships determine social relationships and consequently define speech use behaviour (Laughren 1981). The breakdown of these relationships in non-traditional environments (e.g. in urban centres) also alters speech behaviour. There are eight female and eight male classificatory, or skin names in Warlpiri: Nakamarra, Jakamarra, Napurrula, Jupurrula, Napanangka, Japanangka, Napangardi, Japangardi, Nampijinpa, Jampijinpa, Nangala, Jangala, Nungarrayi, Jungarrayi, Napaljarri. Japaljarri[32] and they prescribe kin relationships including, the rules or conventions of marriage, obligation to other kin, terms of address and the speech forms used.

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[32]'Skin' terms beginning with 'N' are female, and those beginning with 'J' are male.

The importance of kin relationships with regards to social and linguistic behaviour is reflected by the practice of giving non-Aboriginal community members a classificatory name, thereby not only defining that person's kin relationship to everyone else in the community, but also defining their linguistic relationship. While this practice assists to maintain the traditional Warlpiri norms attached to speaking (e.g. terms of address) it also assists to breakdown some of the traditional behaviours of other speaking norms (e.g. avoidance relationships, use taboo words) as the non-Warlpiri person may not be fully linguistically socialised.

4.7.14 Norms of Interpretation

This category relates to the interpretation of the norms of interaction (Hymes 1972:64).

Malcolm (1980/82:90) observes that a number of social meanings are attached to the speech act including, the notion that linguistic competence is held in high value, the withdrawal of communication is seen as distrustful, a resistance to 'domination' may be expressed through non-compliant behaviour, verbal commitments do not hold the same degree of promise as in western society, and the significance of the point of the compass are comparable to western use of right and left.

At Yuendumu, the social meaning of a speech act will shift with reference to social change . Areas in which there are already signs of change include the value of linguistic competence, which has shifted from a competence in Warlpiri and other traditional neighbouring languages, to a competence in Warlpiri and English. Some community members express concern that the bilingual program is producing a generation of speakers who are fluent in neither Warlpiri or English, indicating that linguistic competence continues to be held in high value.

Also, within the school arena the withdrawal of communication and non-compliant behaviour are often symptomatic of cross-cultural differences (e.g. the rights and responsibilities of initiated men), misunderstanding and at times an expression of resistance to domination (either cross-cultural or generational). The failure to hold the same degree of promise in relation to verbal commitments by Warlpiri and non-Indigenous people is a consequence of

the different types of communication strategies and social interactions upheld by the different groups. Direct questioning by a non-Indigenous person of a Warlpiri person may result in gratuitous concurrence (see 2.2) in a situation where it would be impossible to keep the promise for a variety of reasons, such as to keep the channels of communication open, and to avoid explanations that may involve a deep understanding of cultural matters. Schooling, employment and legal obligations oblige a shift in the degree of verbal promise and commitments made to a non-traditional authority which operates outside of the traditional norms of obligation and responsibility that are held by members of Warlpiri society.

4.7.15 Genres

'By genres are meant categories such as poem, myth, tale, proverb, riddle, curse, prayer, oration, lecture, commercial, form letter, editorial, etc,' (Hymes 1972:65).

There exists in Aboriginal culture a rich variety of genres including story telling, myths, folk tales, children's stories, sand stories, songs, and children's songs (Malcolm 1980/82:92). This predominantly oral tradition supported both sacred and secular topics. Alongside the continuation of the traditional genres mentioned above, is the development of new ones in Warlpiri language, for example Christian prayers, classroom instruction, editorial, and administrative styles. In contemporary Warlpiri literature, topics include recent histories, teaching resources, and poetry. There is a also a distinctive women's narrative in Warlpiri (Malcolm 1980/82:93, Vaarzon-Morel 1995) and as McKay (1996:111) notes the writing of stories can give a sense of permanence and an added authority for the authors. Change through contact has also given new shape to familiar genres. Songs, for example, range from the traditional, to children songs with contemporary melodies, to 'rock' songs. Also, most genres are expressed in either Warlpiri or English language by the Warlpiri people at Yuendumu.

4.8 In summary

Although linguistic change is inevitable, whether from an internal or an external influence, the Warlpiri people at Yuendumu have experienced dramatic social and linguistic change brought about by an increasing contact with English language and 'western' culture and a decreasing contact with traditional neighbours. As the changes in situation and changes in speech events listed above indicate, almost every aspect of the traditional Warlpiri life has been touched and altered, particularly, circumstances which encourage the learning and use of the Warlpiri language.

Change in the linguistic ecology and in the sociolinguistic aspects of a language may also mean change in linguistic structure. 'New uses for an old language' will not only result in changes to the lexicon or contexts in which the language is used but also in the way that things are said and ultimately in structural change (Black 1993:208). Furthermore, the impetus of language change as a result of sociolinguistic factors may 'exploit a weak point or potential imbalance in the system which might have been left unexploited' (Aitchinson 1991:123). I will now discuss some of the changes to the structure of the Warlpiri language.

Chapter Four - Part 3

WARLPIRI: LANGUAGE CHANGE

A detailed grammar of Warlpiri has been provided by Hale (1983), and various aspects of Warlpiri grammar have been investigated and discussed by Simpson (1982, 1988), Laughren (1982, 1989), Nash (1986) Kashket (1991), Hale (1992) and Hale et al. (1995). Several studies of the sociolinguistic situation at Yuendumu, and of Warlpiri as a language undergoing change in a contact situation, have been provided by Bavin and Shopen (1985, 1986, 1991).

4.9 Basic outline

As Warlpiri has been already well described, I will not cover all aspects of Warlpiri grammar but instead provide an outline of those aspects which are particularly relevant to this discussion, mainly the part of speech referred to as nominals, including nouns and pronouns, and the case system, where the root plus stem morpheme, plus suffixes, equal a word (Hale 1986:13). In this basic outline I will also look at verbs but exclude details of phonology, which may be found in Laughren (1989), except to say, any change in pronunciation may redefine word boundaries and affect the maintenance of suffixes, and consequently word order rules. Unfortunately, an investigation into a change in pronunciation is beyond the scope of this study.

In this discussion, continuing the tradition established by some of the earliest grammarians[1] and still frequently employed to define the parts of speech of European based and Australian Aboriginal languages, I will use terms such as noun, adjective/modifier and determiner (Lyons 1968:13-17). These terms, however, are not necessarily transferable as labels for parts of speech in other languages.

Nouns, or nominals, cover a wide range of semantic functions, including: pronouns, determiners, substantives, attributives, quantifiers, mental and psychological statives, locatives, and directionals (Hale 1983:34). Also, as there are no adjectives in Warlpiri,

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[1]For example, Dionysis Thrax 2nd century B.C., Donatus 5th century A.D. and Priscian 6th century A.D.

borrowed English adjectives are nominalised and used to modify nouns. In other languages these functions are often delegated to other parts of speech, including verbs (Hale 1983:33-34). In Warlpiri, nominals may be argumental or predicative, and when a nominal functions as a predicate the verb may be omitted (but only a verb in the present tense). For example:

Ngajulu	wati.
1sg.pron.[2]	*man*

I am a man.

Nyampuju	ngami	ngapa-kurlangu.
dem.-top.	*dish*	*water-belonging to*

This dish is for carrying water.

Warlpiri has a relatively large number of determiners. They can be quite specific (e.g. *yali*: 'that removed' and *yinya*: 'that beyond') and may also function as locatives (e.g. *yinya*: 'there beyond'). A number of determiners fulfil the role of an independent third person pronoun and facilitate cross referencing in discourse (e.g. *nyanungu*: 'the, that aforementioned', *ngula*: 'that one', referring back to a prior clause) (see Bavin 1987:9-10). Included in this category are indefinite determiners, interrogative determiners and other interrogatives (Hale et al 1990:46-47).

'All nouns in a Warlpiri sentence must be in the scope of case unless they are incorporated into a compound verb or another noun' (Laughren 1989:323). Also, the case marker of the noun phrase is not always 'strictly 'local'' (Bavin and Shopen 1991:111), as it is not necessarily attached to the head noun.

Jurlpu	wita	yalampu**rlu**	ka	miyi	pantirni.
bird	*little*	*that+**erg**.*	*aux. (is)*	*fruit+abs*	*to peck (trans.V)*

That little bird is pecking the fruit.

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[2]Refer to Appendix II for list of abbreviations used.

Case suffixes do not fuse with other morphemes and some are polysemous (i.e. one form does not always have one meaning). In some instances, there are alternative case forms for disyllabic and polysyllabic words. For example, the ergative case suffix *-ngku* is used with disyllabics, and *-rlu* is used with polysyllabics.[3]

Case suffixes in Warlpiri can be divided into two major groups, grammatical and semantic (also referred to as core and peripheral). The semantic case group is divided into two further categories: non-derivational suffixes (including: allative, elative, comitative, and locative); and derivational suffixes (such as perlative, and possessive). The three grammatical cases absolutive, ergative, and dative distinguish between the arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs.[4] Bavin and Shopen (1991:111-2) note that there are three kinds of transitive case frames, of which the most common pattern is ergative-absolutive followed by absolutive-dative and ergative-dative. The argument of an intransitive verb takes an absolutive-dative frame. (The absolutive case is phonologically null.) For example:

Transitive verbs: ergative (subj.) - absolute (obj.)

Ngarrka-**ngku**	ka	wawirriø[5]	luwarni.
*man+**erg**. (subj.)*	*aux.*	***kangaroo+abs**. (obj.)*	*to shoot (trans.V pres.)*

The man is shooting the kangaroo.

Intransitive verbs: absolute (subj.) - dative (obj.)

Kurduø	ka**rla**	karnta**ku**	yulami.
***child+abs**. (subj.)*	*aux.+**dat**.*	***woman+dat**. (obj.)*	*to cry (intrans.V pres.)*

The child is crying for the woman.

Simpson (1988:209-210), notes three main uses of case suffixes in Warlpiri: they mark the relation holding between a particular nominal and the argument-taking predicate; they act as an argument taking predicates in their own right; and, they may act as a concord marker.

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[3]There are virtually no monosyllabic words in Warlpiri. This aspect of Warlpiri word structure is demonstrated in the way English words are restructured to better suit Warlpiri phonology, for example, truck becomes *turaki*.
[4]Verbs 'borrowed' from English are marked by the suffix *-jarrimi*: to begin (an inchoative verb) on intransitive verbs, and *-mani*: to have, hold on transitive verbs (Bavin 1983:10).
[5]I note the absolutive symbol (ø) only in these first examples of Warlpiri.

Besides case there are a number of other nominal suffixes. Number suffixes, for example, combine with nouns and definite determiners to give four 'grammatical numbers': singular, dual, paucal and plural (Hale et al 1990:45). Plural pronominal clitics attached to the auxiliary are used with the dual and plural number suffixes. The plural can also be formed through the reduplication of certain nouns (e.g. *kurdu-kurdu*: children).

The pronominal system has both independent (unbound) and clitic (bound) pronouns. The person categories include first, second and third person singular, dual and plural, and first person dual and plural, exclusive and inclusive. Pronominals in Warlpiri can be used to introduce participants, maintain reference, or to show a switch in reference. (see Bavin & Shopen 1986:151-153.) In tensed clauses clitic pronouns are suffixed to the auxiliary base and cross reference the arguments of the verb. There are two series of pronominal clitics, one for the subject of transitive and intransitive verbs, and another for direct and indirect objects. The following tables (i.e. tables 4.1 & 4.2) are based upon information in Laughren et al (1996:165), and Hale et al (1995:43). Pronominal clitics of one syllable are marked by a + sign, whereas clitics of more than one syllable have a hyphen in front of them (except for 'compound' clitics, e.g. *+rlijarra*). Object and dative clitics have the same form. An exception is the third person singular. In this instance the dative clitic is represented by *+rla* but the third person singular object clitic is phonologically null. The independent third person pronoun is the determiner *nyanungu*.

1sg	ngaju(lu)	I, me
2sg	nyuntu(lu)	you
3sg	nyanungu	he/she/it
1dual(incl)	ngali(jarra)	we (you & me)
1dual(excl)	ngajarra	we (him/her/it & me)
2dual	nyumpala/nyuntu-jarra	you both/two
3dual	nyanungu-jarra	they both/them two
1pl(incl)	ngalipa	we (you, me & them)
1pl(excl)	nganimpa	we (me & them)
2pl	nyurrurla/nyurrarla	you (more than two)
3pl	nyanungu-rra/nyanungu-patu	they (more than two)

Table 4.1 Independent, or unbound, pronouns

	SUBJECT	OBJECT/DATIVE	
1sg	+rna	+ju/+ji	I, me
2sg	+npa	+ngkku/+ngki	you
3sg	ø	ø(obj) +rla(dat)	he/she/it
1dual(incl)	+rli/+rlu	-ngali/-ngki	we (you & me)
1dual(excl)	+rlijarra/+rlujarra/+rnapala	-jarrangku	we (him/her/it & me)
2dual	+npala	+ngupala/+ngkipala	you both/two
3dual	-pala	-palangu	they both/them two
1pl(incl)	+rlipa/+rlupa	-ngalpa	we (you, me & them)
1pl(excl)	+rnalu	-nganpa	we (me & them)
2pl	+nkulu/+nkili/+npalu	-nyarra	you (more than two)
3pl	+lu/+li	-jana	they (more than two)

Table 4.2 Clitic, or bound, pronouns

As Hale et al (1995:1432) point out, 'pronominal clitics correspond to grammatical functions, not to the case categories of the arguments'. This means that there is a 'dual projection into syntactic structure of a verb's logical arguments', for while the pronominal clitics indicate subject and object, the ergative and absolutive case markings indicate the subject, and the other set of absolutive and dative case markings indicate the object (Laughren 1989:337). In the following example the first person singular independent pronoun takes the ergative case as the argument of a transitive verb, and is cross referenced on the auxiliary as a first person singular subject clitic. Similarly, the second person independent pronoun with the ablative case is cross referenced on the auxiliary by the second person singular object clitic.

Ngajulurlu	ka**rna-ngku**	nyanyi	**nyuntu.**
1sg.S+erg.	*aux.+**1sg.S+2sg.O***	*trans.V (pres.)*	***2sg.O+abs.***
I	*(I) (you)to see*		*you*

I see you.

Note that the freedom of word order found in Warlpiri phrase structure is not found in the order of suffixes. With few exceptions (see Hale et al 1990:44), the subject clitic precedes the object clitic in a nominative-accusative pattern (i.e. subject-direct object).

There are five verb classes in Warlpiri.[6] Warlpiri verbs in general denote actions, stances, or processes (Hale 1983:34). The primary verbal inflections are: present, future, imperative, irrealis and infinitive. There are also infinite complementisers which are suffixed to the infinitive verb (Hale et al 1990:42-43), and the direction of the action of the verb is indicated by suffixes attached to the inflected verb or pre-verbal particle (Hale et al 1990:48). For example:

Wati	ka	yani**rni**.
man+abs.(subj.)	*pres.aux.*	*to come+directional (to here)*

The man is coming here.

A number of auxiliaries help express grammatical distinctions such as tense, mood, and aspect, and there is also a number of finite complementisers which are prefixed to the auxiliary (Hale 1990:42). For example, *kula-* indicating the negative, as in:

Nantuwu	**kula**ka	parnkami.
horse+abs.(subj.)	*neg. comp. aux.*	*to run (pres.)*

The horse is not running.

There are a number of verb and noun formatives modifying the verbs and nouns to which they are attached (Hale 1990:49-50). Also a number of enclitics that can be attached to any word in the sentence except the auxiliary, and can act as phonological extensions or adverbs. The phonological extension *-ju* which acts as a focus marker, also appears to have the function of a definite article (Bavin 1987:9). Several sentence particles (e.g. *mayi*: self interrogative, and *marda*: potential) and two conjunctions (*manu*: and, *kala*: but) complete this very basic outline of Warlpiri grammar.

4.10 Warlpiri and configurationality

Having outlined some of the basic aspects of Warlpiri grammar, I will now examine free word order and some of the studies which discuss word order in Warlpiri. Warlpiri exhibits all of the characteristics typically associated with a non-configurational language: a lack of VP

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[6]Another very important category, that I will not discuss, is that of preverbs, which are nominal in origin and usually precede the verbal stem (Hale et al 1995:1433).

constituent, extensive null anaphora, pragmatically determined word order, and discontinuous constituents. Ways of looking at word order include that of Nash (1986:148), who makes reference to Bach (1975) and his generative grammar approach to word order and word order change, incorporating the lattice and mobile systems, to account for the high degree of word order variation that is found in a language such as Warlpiri.[7] Nash (1986:149) also mentions the Prague School approach, which supports the role of discourse factors in word order, and Dixon's scrambling rule, which he refers to as the S-system.

In his study of Warlpiri, Hale (1983) explores and defines configurational and non-configurational languages largely in terms of the relationship between lexical structure (LS) (ie. the lexical structure as projected by the verb) and phrase structure (PS). Laughren (1989:320) summarises Hale's analysis by stating that:

> *Configurational languages are those in which the Projection Principle (cf. Chomsky, 1981:29,38) holds at both LS and PS, thus PS is the direct morpho-phonology reflex of LS, while nonconfigurational languages are those in which the Projection Principle holds only LS. The relation between LS and PS, in a non-configurational language, is characterised as 'linking' (Hale, 1983) or 'resumption' (Hale, 1985).*

This Projection Principle is further applied in Hale's (1992) comparative study of two free word order languages in which he proposes a means of determining differences between free word order languages:

> *... the recognition of a dual projection of syntactic structure - a functional projection and a lexical projection - brings with it the natural question of where, i.e., at which projection, overt nominal arguments are expressed. If languages can differ in this regard, then this may be the source of the difference between the two types of "free word order". (Hale 1992:80)*

A Configurationality Parameter by which linguistic variation might be measured, is discussed in detail by Hale (1983:26-30). In superficial terms, it might be said that at one end of the scale a lexical item is projected onto syntax through word order, indicating a close connection

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[7]A lattice system is one in which 'the elements dominated directly by a given category constitute simply a set of elements. The entire operation of the base rules then give objects which are simply stratified sets of elements'; and mobile system is one in which 'at each point generates (ordered) strings of elements' (Nash 1986:148).

between lexical structure and phrase structure, for example as in a configurational language such as English. On the other end of the scale a lexical item may be projected onto syntax through other principles of grammar such as morphology, indicating a less close connection between lexical structure and phrase structure, as in a non-configurational language such as Warlpiri. Lyons (1968:76) refers to this as a non-sequential syntagmic relationship where XY $\neq$ YX, and as a sequential syntagmic relationship where XY = YX, when X precedes Y. However, as Hale (1983:42) points out, the Configurationality Parameter does not determine the defining characteristics of a non-configurational language but rather its application contributes to a list of characteristics, of which several may be present in a non-configurational language.

Other characteristics indicative of a non-configurational language which are discussed by Hale (1983), Hale et al (1995), and Laughren (1989) include: free word order, use of discontinuous expressions, free or frequent 'pronoun drop', lack of NP movement transformation, lack of pleonastic NPs, use of rich case system, complex verb words or verb plus auxiliary systems, and a flat structure. Although Warlpiri is said to possess these characteristics, there is some restriction to free lexical insertion, including the constraints of pragmatic and semantic considerations in the placement of word sequence. I will briefly discuss some aspects of free lexical insertion, discontinuous expression; anaphoric ellipsis; and cross referencing.[8]

Hale (1983:9) proposes that free word order in Warlpiri 'follows from free lexical insertion within the relatively unconstrained limits defined by the Warlpiri system of phrase structure rules'. The case system facilitates free lexical insertion in Warlpiri in the following way. Warlpiri is an agglutinating language which means that 'a word may consist of more than one morpheme, but the boundaries between morphemes in the word are always clear cut'

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[8]In Bowe's (1990:157) endeavour to use these characteristics as a test for non-configurationalilty in Pitjantjatjara she was confronted by several problems with the conclusion that the following list of characteristics may be more significant parameters for typological variation: the noun phrase does not require a noun as head; the NP movement is clause bounded; the third person pronominal reference can be represented in zero form; and, appositional properties in the language.

(Comrie1989:43).[9] The Warlpiri language has a relatively large number of case markers on nouns, suffixes modifying verbs and pre-verbs, and auxiliaries. This allows for considerable freedom in word order on the clause level, for both marked and unmarked noun phrases (Laughren 1989:323). Variation in word order does not alter grammatical meaning as there are no slots for core or peripheral arguments (see Hale et al 1995:1431). For example, a transitive sentence with an overt subject and object may have several possible word order combinations of argument and verb.

Ngarrka-ngku	ka	wawirri	luwarni.
Man+erg.	*pres.aux.*	*kangaroo+abs.*	*to shoot(trans.V pres.)*

May also be written as:

Ngarrkangku ka luwarni wawirri. Wawirri ka luwarni ngarrkangku. Wawirri ka ngarrkangku luwarni. Luwarni ka wawirri ngarrkangku. Luwarni ka ngarrkangku wawirri.	A man is shooting a kangaroo.

There are however, some exceptions to the word order rule, or freedom in word order. For example, the placement of propositional particles must be adjacent to the constituent over which they have semantic scope (Laughren 1989:322). There are also some restrictions on the auxiliary complex. The auxiliary complex must be in Wackernagel's position (ie. second), unless it is the negative complementiser *kula-ka*. In this case, the auxiliary complex can appear in either the first, or second position, but it cannot follow the verb. The auxiliary complex must be contained in the first phonological clause (Hale et al 1995:1431). Kashket (1991:138) in his parsing of Warlpiri accounts for the position of the auxiliary by noting that it 'must appear to the right of any syntactic constituent'.[10] Hale (1992:76) also notes a further restriction is whereby the phonologically unmarked objects of infinitivals must appear in the

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[9]Comrie (1981:47) notes that a morphological classification of a language type is really a matter of degree, as the language may be assigned 'a place along the continua defined by the index of synthesis and the index of fusion'.

[10]While not an exception to the freedom in word order, it may be useful to note that the interrogative normally appears in the initial position, preceding the auxiliary (Hale et al 1991:1446).

immediate pre-verbal position.[11] In view of these constraints, Warlpiri is perhaps better referred to as having a flexible word sequence, than a free word order.

While word order may not affect grammatical sense it does however, influence sentence interpretation. Although virtually all word order variations are grammatically possible, they are 'context-sensitive' and are not equally acceptable, and furthermore '[d]eviation outside the structural limits of appropriateness within a given context inevitably results in miscommunication and confusion' (Swartz 1991:20, 42). In other words, while a sentence in Warlpiri may have a number of possible grammatically correct variations of word order, each variation may not be equally 'acceptable', 'appropriate', 'marked/unmarked' or 'usual/unusual' (Hale 1992:65). Variation of word order in Warlpiri, therefore, may be understood by pragmatic and/or stylistic considerations (Swartz 1988:151, & Swartz 1991:55-80).[12] A summary of Swartz's (1991:79) pragmatic interpretation of word order in Warlpiri is as follows:

> *(a) the preverbal position is the most significant position in terms of pragmatic functions;*
> *(b) overt, non-agentive subjects which follow verbs signal unfocussed clause topics which may or may not have any prior or subsequent discourse thematicity;*
> *(c) subjects which precede verbs signal focused topics regardless of any prior or subsequent discourse themacity; and,*
> *(d) thematic clause topics are signalled by means of zero anaphora of the subject referent which carries over thematically from the prior clause or context.*

Theme and topic, therefore, play a significant role in determining word order in Warlpiri. Swartz (1988:156) defines 'theme' as referring to 'what the speaker is talking about', and 'topic' as 'any theme given prominence by being placed in the first sentence constituent position and whose range of influence does not extend beyond the particular sentence in which it occurs'. Topic is the most left (or right) noun phrase in relation to the verb and not simply the subject, especially with regard to Warlpiri. However, the focus of a sentence may precede the topic. Furthermore,

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[11]More examples of restrictions to word order can be found in Hale et al (1995:1435,1436).
[12]See also, Hale et al (1991), and Laughren (1989).

> *... the choice of a particular word order is determined not only by what the speaker is now talking about, but by what has been talked about, and by what if anything he wishes to emphasise. The speaker must also take into consideration the hearer's ability to follow the ebb and flow of the story or argument. (Swartz 1988:159)*

As mentioned earlier, a sentence such as the one below can have almost any variation in word order without altering its grammatical meaning.

Wawirri	ka	luwarni	ngarrka-ngku.
kangaroo+abs.	*pres.aux.*	*to shoot (trans.V pres.)*	*man+erg.*

The man is shooting the kangaroo.

However, taking pragmatics into consideration, the English version of the sentence given above would be more likely rendered in the passive voice as: 'The kangaroo is being shot by the man'. Therefore, theme and topic are expressed through a shift of syntax in a configurational language while in a non-configurational language they are typically expressed by a shift of word sequence.

In a non-configurational language, although topic may be indicated by word order, it may also be indicated by intonation and/or a phonological marker. In Warlpiri, for example, the topic marker *-ju* is used.

Yuwa!	Ngana	yalumpu**ju**?
hey	*who*	*that (nearby)+topic marker*

Hey! Who's that?

Ngula**ju**	Napaljarri	ngajuku-purdangka	kapirdi.
that one+topic marker	*Napaljarri*	*me+dat.-sibling*	*elder sister*

That's Napaljarri, my sister.[13]

A feature of free lexical insertion, and consequent free word order, is the presence of discontinuous noun phrases. Warlpiri is one of the Pama-Nyungan languages with the freest word-order in that elements within complex noun phrases and non-finite clauses need not be

[13]Note the more specific language in Warlpiri, compared with English, when making reference to kin relations.

contiguous (Bavin & Shopen 1991:104) (Hale et al 1995:1434). Compare the following sentences.

Wita-ngku	kurdu-ngku	ka	ngapa	ngarni.
small+erg	*child+erg.*	*pres.aux.*	*water+abs.*	*to drink (pres.)*

The small child is drinking water.

(a)	**Wita**	**kurdu-ngku**	ka	ngapa	ngarni.
	mod.	***subj.+erg***	*pres.aux.*	*obj.+abs.*	*trans.V (pres.)*
(b)	**Wita-ngku**	**kurdu-ngku**	ka	ngapa	ngarni.
	mod.+erg.	***subj.+erg***	*pres.aux.*	*obj.+abs.*	*trans.V (pres.)*
(c)	**Kurdu-ngku**	ka	**wita-ngku**	ngapa	ngarni.
	subj.+erg	*pres.aux.*	***mod.+erg.***	*obj.+abs.*	*trans.V (pres)*

In (a) only the final of the two nominals in the noun phrase is marked for case, whereas in (b) both the subject nominal and the determiner are marked for case. In these examples, whether all nominals of the noun phrase, or only the final one is marked for case, the nominal expression preceding the auxiliary is considered to be a single (grammatical) constituent (Laughren 1989:324). By doing so, two 'rules' of the Warlpiri grammatical system are not broken: that is that all nouns in a sentence must be in the scope of case, and that the auxiliary is in the second position in the sentence. In (c) the separation of constituents by the auxiliary obliges that both are marked by case. Discontinuous constituents are often a consequence of discourse factors, in which 'the relative placement of the modifier and modified is determined by pragmatic rules' (Laughren 1989:325), for example, when a modifier is particularly singled out for focus. Discontinuous constituents may also have a predicative use (Hale et al 1995:1444, & Hale 1983:38). The following example is taken from a reader *Ngajuku Kapirdi* (Napanangka 1982:7) (see also Appendix VIII).

Ngajuku-purdangka	**kapirdi**	ka	nyinami	yamangka
1sg.+dat.+kinterm	*sister+abs.*	*aux.*	*to sit (intrans.V pres.)*	*shade+loc.*

mata	kurdu	wita-kurlu.
tired+abs.(mod.)	*child.*	*small+noun formative proprietive having (mod.)*

My older sister is sitting in the shade, tired, with her baby.
My older sister has become tired and is sitting in the shade with her baby.[14]

[14]The translation given in the reader is appositional: 'My sister, tired, is sitting ...'.

The cross referencing of arguments of tensed clauses, as mentioned in 4.9, allows for anaphoric ellipsis (or null anaphora) of core arguments, in which the noun or independent pronoun is able to be omitted. For example:

Nyanyi	ka**rna-ngku**	**ngajulurlu**	**nyuntu.**
to see (trans.V pres.)	*aux.+**1sg.S+2sg. dir.O***	***1sg.S+erg.***	***you+abs.***
see	*(I) (you)*	*I*	*you*

I see you.

Nyanyi	ka**rna-ngku.**
to see (trans.V pres.)	*aux.+**1sg.S+2sg.dir.O***
see	***(I) (you)***

I see you.

Anaphora ellipsis of the noun or independent pronoun is prevalent in Warlpiri because the pronominal clitic usually provides enough information to identify the referent: arguments ellipsis is very common, so many 'arguments for verbs are not represented by case marked nominals of any sort' (Bavin & Shopen 1991:111). Discourse or pragmatic factors also influence the occurrence of anaphora ellipsis: 'for languages in which subject pronouns are generally ellipsed, factors other than givenness must be considered; in such languages, subject pronouns are overt when there is a need to emphasise or contrast' (Bavin 1987:2).[15] However, as Bavin notes (1987:10), the presence of the noun may not be for identification alone but as an indication of focus. For example, the use of the focus marker '-ju' requires the presence of a noun or unbound pronoun or the determiner.

Bowe (1990:156) in noting Jelinek (1984), views anaphora ellipsis in Warlpiri from the perspective that the clitic pronouns are the primary argument of the verb and the full noun phrase as structurally in apposition: 'full noun phrases (i.e. those with clitics and nominals or/and independent pronoun forms) are viewed in some sense as appositional it could explain the high degree of variation in word-order'. Perhaps the use of full nouns phrases may also be viewed as emphatic.

Nyanyi	ka**rna-ngku**	**ngajulu-rlu**	**nyuntu-ø.**
trans.V pres.	*aux.**-1sg.S-2sg.dir.O***	***1sg.S-erg.***	***you-abs.***

I, myself, see you, you in particular.

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[15]This point is further illustrated in Bavin (1987).

Although, anaphora ellipsis is not a primary characteristic of non-configurationality (Hale1983:41) its frequent occurrence in Warlpiri means that the cross referencing of clitics is important in helping to determine the grammatical role of arguments of the verb. A breakdown in the cross referencing system hinders the analysis of a sentence, exacerbated by a loss of case on nominals. The consequences of such a breakdown and possible shift of non-configurational language to a configurational language is discussed in the following section.

4.11 Innovations to the Warlpiri grammatical system

In recent years there have been a number of observed changes to the grammatical structure of the Warlpiri language, mainly in the area of young peoples' language. Bavin and Shopen (1986:150) suggest that these changes have occurred, not necessarily because of direct contact with the English language, but because of cultural instability caused by post colonial contact. They argue that cultural instability results in 'fewer pressures on the young people to retain the conventional linguistic forms, and consequently there is more opportunity for new forms to be adapted' in the process of language acquisition and language use (Bavin & Shopen1986:150). New forms can arise through the overgeneralization of a rule in grammar, the avoidance of exceptions, and the imposition of regularity. The effect of cultural change and instability upon language acquisition and use is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four - Part 2.

Changes in the language of young people is particularly significant in the Warlpiri community because of the large degree of influence older children and teenagers have on the language of their younger peers (Bavin & Shopen 1991:106), and because of the following four propositions listed by Hockett (1950:449):

1. *The fundamental speech habits of an individual are in most cases firmly established by the age of puberty.*
2. *The most important environmental force shaping the emerging dialect of a child is the speech of other children.*
3. *In any community, there is a continuity of linguistic tradition through successive generations of children.*
4. *It is within this childhood continuity that phonetic change, the kind of linguistic change characterizable as 'regular', takes place.*

However, the changes which have been observed in the grammar of young Warlpiri speakers, as Bavin and Shopen (1986:149) point out, may, or may not, be adopted by following generations of speakers, or retained into adulthood.[16] Bavin and Shopen (1991:114) note that some changes, changes in pronunciation for example, have been maintained by older speakers, and that this is an indication of 'change in progress' rather than a 'developmental feature'. The pronunciation variation of the ergative ending of *-ngi* for *-ngki* and *-ngu* for *-ngku*, mentioned by Bavin and Shopen (1991:112-113), was present in the speech of some of the young Warlpiri people I observed during my visits to Yuendumu in 1997. However, the majority of the young Warlpiri speakers I interviewed tended to use the 'traditional' pronunciations of *-ngki* and *-ngku*, and almost always wrote it as such. Perhaps this 'change in progress' has been impeded or reversed, or the discrepancy may be due to the limitations of my research (see Chapter Two).

4.12 Grammatical changes in Warlpiri and the shift towards fixed word order

In this section, I would like to investigate if there is any supporting evidence to indicate a shift from free to fixed word order in Warlpiri, or rather from a flexible to a less flexible word sequence. There are certain stages usually expected in the shift from a non-configurational language to a configurational one. Some of the initial stages include:

- the preference for a particular word order
- the dropping of case suffixes, and/or
- the separation of suffixes to form post- or prepositions.

I will discuss each stage listed above with reference to Warlpiri, and take into consideration the results of Bavin and Shopen's (1991) work on change in the pronominal system, as well as language data I obtained from a group of 12-21 year old female students at Yuendumu. This group of informants have in most cases had more schooling than their male peers and have been part of the bilingual education program throughout their schooling. They are more

[16]Laughren (1984:87-88) notes that the borrowing of non-Warlpiri terms for 'baby-talk' which may influence the language of children and subsequently Standard Warlpiri as they become adults, would be particularly evident when the 'source' language is a 'distant' one, such as English.

acculturated in the language process than their younger peers and have grown up with a wider sphere of influence from non-traditional cultures and the English language, primarily through media and technology. So, although this group may not have the same level of Warlpiri language skills as their seniors, they do have a good grounding in both English and Warlpiri literacy, language and culture. This group also plays a significant role in the transmission of language to the next generation. Many of them are mothers, who when they attend school, bring their babies or small children with them.

As discussed in Chapter Four - Part 2, Warlpiri speakers at Yuendumu have experienced a high degree of contact with English language and culture and to varying degrees the community is bilingual. Contact and bilingualism can result in syntactic transference. Clyne (1991b:244) in his study of German and Dutch in Australia, notes that the contact situation in Australia has resulted in bilingualism and syntactic transference in the language of first and second generation of German and Dutch speakers. Although a different set of social and linguistic factors operate for Dutch and German speakers in Australia to those of the Warlpiri community the consequences are similar. One feature of syntactic transference is the generalisation of SVO word order. This generalisation of SVO word order through contact with English can also be observed in Warlpiri, in which the unmarked word order is SOV (see 4.4). 'Among older children and teenagers ... there is a tendency towards subject first word order' (Bavin & Shopen 1991:109).

Reading materials used in education may be an influencing factor in the tendency for SVO word order among older children and teenagers. The majority of readers produced for use in the bilingual education program at Yuendumu School by the Bilingual Resources Development Unit (BRDU) have either a SVO or SOV word order preference, with little variation.[17] As well as a consequence of contact with English, the high proportion of SVO word order is probably due to a number of factors. In some cases it may be the result of the more simple language constructions necessary for young children's readers, or because the

[17]See Appendix VIII for examples of readers produced by the BRDU.

language is in a written form rather than being spontaneous speech.[18] This view is upheld in part by Swartz (1991:46-7) who observes that '[s]uch "captionese" redundancy is not purposeless but rather serves the pragmatic function of providing one-sentence discourses which encapsulate the action in the picture and are thus easy for new readers to understand'.

A lack of word order variation in readers fails to provide students with examples of the flexibility of word sequence in Warlpiri. This is reflected in the written work produced by many students in the post-primary class.[19] In exercises specifically designed to encourage variation in word order the same word order, usually SVO, is often repeated. The chart below shows the high proportional use of SVO word order in the study group's written work. The word order statistics were taken from written work produced by the study group during 1996-1997 in their language exercise books, *I Can Read and Write Warlpiri : Warlpiri Karna Yirrarni*, *Puku* (books) 1-4. (Total number of sixty-five examples: results indicate percentages.)

	SVO	SOV	VSO
Puku 1	89	7	4
Puku 2	86	14	0
Puku 3	92	8	0
Puku 4	80	20	0

Table 4.3 Variation in Word Order

Understandably, it is also likely that teaching literacy and language skills in general receives a higher priority than word order variation. Concern regarding the limited variation of word order in school readers has been previously voiced by Bavin (1988), who also suggested that greater variation could be used. This may not be easy to achieve, however, because of the extent of influence that English has upon the Warlpiri language and because of the significant

[18]Initial findings in which the incidence of SVO and SOV word orders in written text and spoken language are compared, suggest that there is a higher incidence of SVO word order in written Warlpiri and a higher incidence of SOV word order in spoken Warlpiri. Further investigation is necessary to confirm these findings and to categorise this word order usage according to area (e.g. Yuendumu) and other factors, such as age of the informant.
[19]See Appendix IX for examples of student's written work.

role pragmatic rules play in word order. Pragmatic rules are perhaps less easily broken than the rules of grammar: 'pragmatic inappropriateness grates every bit as much on the ears of mother-tongue Warlpiri speakers as does grammatical incorrectness, perhaps even more so'. (Swartz 1988:156).

Yet, another feature of syntactic transference as a result of contact with English that is discussed by Clyne (1991a) is the increasing proximity of discontinuous constituents. There is some evidence of increasing proximity of discontinuous constituents in Warlpiri. In Warlpiri, the unmarked position for the modifier is following the nominal it modifies (Laughren 1989:325). For example (Napanangka 1982:3):

Ngajuku-purdangkarlu	kapirdirli	ka	**kurdu wita**		mardarni.
1sg.+dat.+sibling+erg.	*elder sister+erg.*	*pres.aux.*	*child*	*small*	*to hold (pres.)*

My elder sister is holding the **small child**.

As noted earlier, discontinuous expression is characteristic of a non-configurational language and for pragmatic reasons the noun phrase may be expressed by discontinuous constituents, in which case each nominal is marked for case. The increased proximity of discontinuous constituents may also occur with an inverted order of the nominal and its modifier due to pragmatic constraints. The Following example is taken for the reader *Pinta-pinta kurlu* (Napanangka 1997:3).

Pinta-pinta-jarra	kapala	manyu-karri	karnta	manu	wirriya.
butterflies+dual	*aux.dual*	*to play (pres.)*	*female*	*and*	*male*

A female and a male butterfly are playing.

Karnta	pinta-pinta	ka	nyinami	parlangka.
female	*butterfly*	*pres.aux.*	*to sit (pres.)*	*leaf+loc.*

The female butterfly is sitting on a leaf.

In this instance, the modifier has been shifted in the second sentence to the initial position where it becomes the focus. Since pragmatic, rather than grammatical rules, determine the relative position of the nominal and its modifier, it is difficult to establish whether or not a shift toward greater proximity of constituents has occurred as in the examples provided by Clyne (1991a). However, the use of English based proper nouns frequently trigger

code-switching and in the following example the use of an English based proper noun has inverted the nominal/modifier word order. Code-switching may result in a shift in the order of other constituents due to factors such as typological harmony and word order universals (see Chapter Three), and as mentioned earlier in syntactic transference. The following is an example of student Warlpiri composition taken from a workbook (see also Appendix IX).

> '... manu rnalu yanu Julyurl-Wantijaku big-DAM-kirra manu rnalu yanu pina ngurra kurra...'
>
> '... and we (excl.) went to swim at the big dam and we (excl.) returned home...'

As morphology defines grammatical function in Warlpiri any loss of case suffixes would mean a greater reliance upon word order for grammatical meaning. Two of the changes to the case system noted by Bavin and Shopen (1991:111-7) were that the dative '-ku' is being used to indicate the possessive case (*-kurlangu*) and that the perlative *-wana* is being used for the comitative case suffix (*-ngkajinta/-rlajinta*). My investigations suggested however, that case marking are generally well maintained. This may be a consequence of the limitations of my tests and relatively low number of informants.[20] However, the relatively 'well maintained' case system may be a consequence of the bilingual program at Yuendumu as well as other social factors generally assisting in language maintenance, such as self-government and the relative remoteness of the Yuendumu community.

What I have observed is variation in the way case suffixes are attached to nominals in the written form. Although the written form of a language rarely mirrors the spoken language, languages are frequently preserved and maintained in written form. The convention for writing in Warlpiri is that any suffix of more than one syllable, is joined directly to the word or by using a hyphen. The hyphen makes complex words. which can be very long, easier to read. For example:

Karnta-jarrarlulpa-pala	miyi	purraja.
woman+dual+erg.+past imp.+3dual	*food*	*to cook (pt)*
The two women were	cooking	food.

[20]See Chapter Two and Appendix I for surveys conducted and documented results.

Case suffixes are attached to nominals and cover a wide range of semantic functions (see section 4.9). They mark the type of relationship between, a nominal and the argument taking a predicate (which is usually a verb, but can be a nominal) (Simpson 1988). Again these examples are taken from a students' Warlpiri composition workbooks.

Ngaju-rna nyinaja **ngurra-ngku** purda-nyangu-rna **tayipi** Yothu Yindi.
*I stayed **at home** listening to the Yothu Yindi **tape**.*

Nganimpa-rnalu yanu manyu-karrija ka **ngapa-kurra** ... manu-rnalu yanu pina **ngurra-kurra** jarda-kurra.
*We went playing **to the water place** ... and we returned **(to) home** again (to) sleep.*

In the written work of the sample group the hyphen was frequently omitted and the suffix written as a separate lexical unit. The use of an English word frequently triggered the separation of the allative case suffix *-kurra* from its nominal. The function of the allative is to relate the subject of the sentence to location. The nearest English equivalent would be 'into'. 'It expresses a locational relation between a nominal representing a place, and either an event ... or a thing' (Simpson 1988:205). There were, however, no instances of the case suffix used as a preposition.

Nganimpa-rnalu yanu pirrarni **swimming pool kurra** nganimpa-rnalu yanu pina **ngurra kurra** ...
*Yesterday we went **to the swimming pool** and afterwards we returned **home**....*

Nganimpa-rnalu yanu **basketball kurra** nunganka yanu pina **ngurra kurra** video nyangu-rnalu.
*We went **(to) basketball** after which we went **home** to watch videos.*

The hyphen was more likely to be maintained if the English word was restructured according to Warlpiri phonology.

... manu yanu-rnalu Holidayki Tawunu-kurra...
... we went to town for a holiday...

On a few occasions, in the examples studied, the allative case suffix was hyphenated to an English based word.

Ngalu-rna yanu Julyurl-wantijuku **mission creek-kirra** pirrarni ...
*Yesterday, I went to swim **at Mission Creek** ...*

The separation of the allative case suffix *-kurra* was often omitted most frequently when an English based word was used. The great variation in written styles due to a number of variables may be indicative of a change in progress and of the possible development of a postposition. The suffix *-kurra* having two syllables fulfils a requirement of Warlpiri word structure and would therefore more readily stand alone than perhaps a single syllable suffix. Although *-kurra* may not be phonologically separate from the word to which it is attached I venture to suggest that when it is written separate from its nominal it is conceptually viewed as attached by the writer.

There are also alternative methods of noting suffixes in Warlpiri that are used in written texts. For instance, if the suffix, regardless of number of syllables, is attached to an English based word it may be notated as: *Desert Park'rla* (at the Desert Park), *course'ku* (for a course), *March 1998'rla* (in March 1998), and *court'kurra* (to court) (Mifsud 1998:1 vol.3). This more pronounced physical separation of the case suffix may lead to an actual separation of the suffix from the nominal.

Significant linguistic change has been observed in the pronominal system. Bavin and Shopen (1986:172) in their investigation of changes to the pronominal system of the Warlpiri language noted 'a move towards semantic transparency, a move towards the reduction of semantic complexity, and (opposed to these) the principle of conventionality'. Contrasts are being lost and new forms are being made. For example, innovations in the first person pronoun forms and second person subject clitics, and the levelling of the unbound first person pronoun where the inclusive-exclusive distinction is being lost (Bavin & Shopen 1986:166-168).[21] Also, Bavin (1988) notes a generalization in children's speech concerning the possessive pronoun. She observed that the suffix *-kurlangu* was being attached to both nouns and pronouns, whereas in traditional grammar, the noun takes the suffix '-kurlangu', while the pronoun however, takes the suffix *-nyangu* to indicate the possessive (e.g. *ngaju-kurlangu*: mine).

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[21]See also, Bavin & Shopen (1991:106-8), and Bavin (1988).

Bavin and Shopen (1991:106-8) note that as well as changes to the pronominal system, pronominal clitics are sometimes left out all together. They also note that a lack of pronominal clitics on auxiliary may lead to a reliance upon fixed word order (Bavin & Shopen 1983:22). My observation was that young Warlpiri speakers had difficulty with the use of pronominal clitics. This difficulty was most apparent if there was more than one pronoun in the sentence requiring to be cross referenced. For example, the following sentences illustrates some of the ways in which 10-12 year old female students at Yuendumu School, cross referenced two pronouns on the auxiliary.

The object of the exercise was to translate written sentences from English into Warlpiri. It may be argued that sentences such as the ones used in these examples are not representative of the type of constructions that would occur in spontaneous speech data. Despite the 'manufactured' nature of this data, I believe that it has some value as an indication of the young Warlpiri speaker's sense of 'grammatical correctness'.

1. **I am waiting for you.**

1.a	**Ngaju(lu)**	**karna-ngku**	**pardarni**	**nyuntu-ku.**[22]
	1sg.	*aux.1sg.S+2sg.O*	*intrans.V (pres.)*	*2sg.+dat.*

1.b Ngaju karnangku pardarni nyuntu-ku.
(alternative pronoun form - ngaju)

1.c	Ngaju	kana**rla**	pardarni.
	1sg.	*aux.1sg.S+**3sg.O***	*intrans.V*

(no independent 2sg. personal pronoun)

1.d	Ngajulu	ka	witijarri.
	1sg.	*aux.*	*intrans.V*

(pronominal clitics and 2sg independent pronoun are omitted and verb has been 'borrowed' from English, 'witi': 'wait' + 'jarri(mi))[23]

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[22]Note that the independent pronouns may be omitted as they are cross referenced on the auxiliary.

[23] For further detail regarding Warlpiri 'sounds' and 'borrowing' of English words, see Laughren (1986:9-10) and Bavin (1988).

2. **You are waiting for me**

2.a	**Nyuntulu**	**kanpaju**	**pardarni**	**ngaju-ku.**
	2sg.	*aux.2sg.S+1sg.O*	*intrans.V (pres.)*	*1sg.+dat.*

2.b Nyuntu kanpaju pardarni ngaju-ku.
(alternative pronoun form)

2.c	Ngaju	kaju	pardarni.
	1sg.	*aux.1sg.O*	*intrans.V*

(omission of 2sg.S on aux., omission of 2sg. independent pronoun)

2.d	Ngaju	ka	witijarri	nyuntu.
	1sg.	*aux*	*intrans.V*	*2sg.*

(omission of pronominal clitics and 2sg. independent pronoun and alternative verb, see 1.d)

The lack of pronominal clitics may perhaps be one of the strongest indications of a shift to fixed word order because without cross referencing, together with ellipsis of the noun and a drop of case endings, reliance upon word order is greatly increased. For example:

1.d	Ngaju	ka	witijarri.		
	1sg.	*aux.*	*intrans.V (pres.)*		
(lit.)	I	(am)	waiting.	*or*	I wait.

In this instance, taking into consideration Bavin and Shopen's (1986:172) findings, that independent pronouns are often used to introduce the subject participant, through word order it is still possible to interpret that it is the first person singular acting as the argument of the verb, despite the omission of the second person independent pronoun and pronominal clitics. However, void of context, the meaning of this sentence would remain ambiguous. This point can be further illustrated by:

2.c	Ngaju	kaju	pardarni.
	1sg.	*aux.1sg.O*	*intrans.V (pres.)*
(lit.)	I (am)	(for) me	waiting.
or	Someone/something (unidentified) is waiting for me.		

In this instance the first person independent pronoun is present without the dative case marker that would help to signify that it is the direct object of the sentence. The pronominal clitic on the auxiliary suggests that the first person pronoun may in fact be the object and not the subject. The lack of any other pronominal clitics or independent pronoun however, leaves open to speculation as to who is waiting for whom.

The final example illustrates quite clearly how the omission of case endings and pronominal clitics as cross reference markers, creates a greater reliance upon word order for meaning.

2.d	Ngaju	ka	witijarri	nyuntu.
	1sg.	*aux.*	*intrans.V (pres.)*	*2sg.*
	I	(am)	waiting (for)	you.

Context, or word order alone, in this sentence assists in grammatical meaning.

4.13 In summary

> *Adult Warlpiri has a pragmatically determined word order (Swartz 1988). One could imagine that early in the process of acquiring the language, children might overgeneralize and make some particular word order a signal for grammatical function of noun phrases. In fact, this is not so. Among older children and teenagers, we have found that for certain tasks of a formal nature (e.g. describing actions in short sets of pictures), there is a tendency towards subject first word order. (Bavin and Shopen 1991:108-9)*

Although I had anticipated that there may be conclusive signs of a shift in the freedom of word order in Warlpiri as a result of ever increasing contact with English, I discovered that Bavin and Shopen's findings, as noted above, still hold true in that grammatical meaning does not appear to be indicated by word order. There have been some changes, however, such as those noted in the pronominal system and the sociolinguistic changes noted in the Chapter Four Part 2, but overall the grammatical structure has not undergone major change. Case endings for instance, appear to be well maintained, and as Black (1993:216) notes, the written language plays supportive role in language maintenance. Significantly, changes in the pronominal system, which affect the cross referencing system, increase the functional need of the case system. If there is no cross referencing on the auxiliary, then anaphora ellipsis may also not occur. This situation would be exacerbated by the loss of case markings.[24]

Although discourse factors play a major role in the predominance of SVO word order, it does not explain all of its occurrences considering that pragmatic effect may also be achieved by the function of morphology (eg. *-ju*: focus marker) as well as by intonation (Bavin & Shopen

[24]cf. the notion of Catastrophic Language Change in Chapter Three, section 3.2.1.

1991:109). Another limitation of a pragmatic analysis is that it is highly context specific. Other factors which may account for a predominant SVO word order in Warlpiri include syntactic transference, or that it is used for 'local, personal stylistic effect'(Bavin & Shopen 1983:16). Furthermore, it may be that Warlpiri is in a state of typological transition, and that case endings may not be the best indicator of configurationality as there are a number of fixed SVO languages with case (i.e. the Romance languages).

To note the effect on typology as a consequence of contact is difficult because as Mühlhäusler (1987:489) notes that:

> *(a) the same syntactic morphology is as likely to be encountered with related languages as it is with unrelated ones;*
> *(b) languages can change dramatically in terms of their syntactic properties; and,*
> *(c) most languages are typologically mixed.*

A future investigation of a possible shift in the configurationality of Warlpiri, therefore, given that syntactic indicators are weak, may benefit from a focus on typological inconsistencies, breaks in implicational universals of word order, and discrepancies between morphemes and word order.

Chapter Five

LATIN: CASE STUDY

> *The syntax of a language, no less than the signification of the words, carries the mark of the spirit of the people. ... The first feature that strikes us in the arrangement of the Latin sentence is the energy and decision, the virility and the dignity which radiate from its very form. (Strong & Campbell 1909:42-43)*

It may be argued that the shift in the freedom of word order in Latin was simply a consequence of the dispiriting of the Roman people due to the fall of the Roman Empire, in this chapter, however, I will look at some of the linguistic and sociolinguistic factors which shaped word order in Latin.

5.1 Introduction

Latin, known by various names including Classical Latin, Vulgar Latin, Church Latin and Medieval Latin, is generally recognised as the language of the ancient Romans, and as the predecessor to the Romance languages. It was the official written and spoken language of the Roman Empire (27 BC. - 476 A.D.), extending far beyond the boundaries of Rome and the Italian Peninsula. The early history of Latin, and that of the Romans, is a mixing of legend (e.g. as told in *The Illiad* and *The Aeneid*) and written record, and the earliest known examples of Latin are inscriptions which date from the late seventh or sixth century B.C. (Kennedy 1962:1). In the fifth century A.D., after the fall of the Roman Empire, Latin continued to be used throughout much of Europe as the language of the Christian Church and as the language of learning.

The Romans themselves identified different styles (or repertoires) of Latin, including: *sermo urbanus* (written oratorical style); *sermo rusticus* (country speech); *sermo plebeius* and *sermo vulgaris* (popular speech); and, *sermo cotidianus* and *sermo usualis* (everyday speech) (Elcock 1975:32). These different styles can be divided into two main categories 'formal', such as the stylised 'learned' language of *sermo urbanus*, and 'informal', such as the 'unlearned' style of *sermo usualis* and *sermo vulgaris*.

The grammar of 'formal' Latin, or Classical Latin, as I shall refer to it for the purpose of this discussion, is analytic and highly inflected. For instance: there are case endings on nouns, indicating grammatical function and accidental information; suffixes on adjectives, indicating nominal agreement; and, suffixes on verbs. indicating person, number, tense, voice, and aspect. The basic word order of Classical Latin was SOV, but a feature of its grammar is that it is non-configurational, meaning that variation in word order does not alter grammatical meaning.[1] This flexibility of word order in Classical Latin, although it was influenced by pragmatic and semantic considerations (Pinkster 1991:69-82), was often used by writers for stylistic considerations (Posner 1966:168), particularly in poetry where it also served to facilitate scansion.[2]

Although there are many examples of Classical Latin preserved in literary works, indications of what spoken Latin may have been like, up until the third century A.D., can be found in the few extant works where direct speech is used, for example: the plays of Plautus, the prose of Petronius and Appulieus, and the poems of Catullus. Other sources include, the works of grammarians, inscriptions, and the form of words borrowed by other languages from Latin (Elcock 1975:33, & Pulgram 1950:458-9).

Evidence suggests that the rules of grammar for spoken Latin were in accordance with Classical Latin, but not strictly adhered to. Indeed, spoken Latin may have been more similar to Old Latin which predates Classical Latin (Pulgram 1950:463), but further investigation is necessary to clarify the differences, or similarities, that existed between Old and Classical Latin. Differences between spoken and Classical Latin, however, were already apparent in written works dating from the first century A.D. As Baldi (1994:2055) observes, the predominant SVO[3] word order in Plautus may have more closely reflected Latin as it was

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[1]See Kennedy (1962) for more information regarding Classical Latin grammar; and sections 3.5 for aspects of configurationality and 4.11 for information of configurationality as described for Warlpiri.

[2]Scansion refers to the arrangement and number of long and short syllable to fulfil the requirements of metre. See Kennedy (1962:201-208).

[3]It has been argued that Latin was basically a SOV language, but due to the limitations of knowledge about word order in Latin, 'there is no reason for assuming a SOV order in Classical Latin, nor is there one for assuming a SVO by AD400' (Pinkster 1991:80).

spoken, and furthermore, the writings of Caesar and Cicero 'may have been characteristic of an elaborated style which did not reflect the facets of the spoken language'. The differences between the written and spoken language were possibly reflective of a change in progress, or the stylised aspects of Classical Latin, which differentiated it from everyday speech, were indicative of the impact of Greek literature and official language upon written Latin.[4]

A consequence of the fall of the Roman Empire, and the subsequent invasions of Roman territories, was the diminished use of Classical Latin as the model for written language. In contrast, the written language, fostered by the growth of Christianity and the emergence of national identity, began to increasingly reflect the language of the contemporary speaker. Therefore, by the third century A.D., evidence of change in the grammatical structure of Latin can be noted in hagiographical documents and other religious works (e.g. St Jerome 331-420 and St Augustine 352-430), some historical works (e.g. Gregory of Tours), judicial and other legal texts (e.g. Lex Salica, the code of the Salian Franks drawn up in 507AD), and glossaries and grammars (e.g. The Reichenau Glossary and the Glossary of Kassel) (Pulgram 1950:458-9, & Politzer 1949:127). The closure of the remaining 'schools of antiquity' in 529A.D., by decree of the Emperor Justinian, and the development of 'church' schools and religious institutions reinforced the trend of having the written language reflect the spoken language more closely. However, many of the texts produced in the period of the third to the eighth centuries were intended for an elite audience literate in Latin, and are therefore possibly unreliable as a source of evidence of the vernacular (Hall 1950:21). The glossaries and grammars of this period provide perhaps the most reliable evidence of the vernacular as they document the differences between speech and written language (Pulgram 1950:460). Furthermore, the need for such glossaries and grammars reflect the deliberate preservation of written Latin and the enforced bilingualism, or diglossia, between the written and spoken language (Harris and Taylor 1989:xiv).

Pulgram's time-line below, illustrates the linguistic development of Classical and spoken Latin. Although the time-line is an idealistic representation, it provides a clear outline of

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[4]I will discuss the influence of Greek upon Latin further in section 5.2.3.

several centuries of change. Linguistic development is neither uniform or continuous as the lines imply, nor did the two forms, written and spoken, develop independently of each other. For instance, along the spoken Latin line there would be significant branching out at the Proto-Romance section indicative of dialectal differentiation (Pulgram 1950:464).[5] I have added two extra lines to Pulgram's original diagram, where the written Latin line dramatically drops in the ninth century to meet the spoken Latin line, to indicate the continuation of the written form through the 'revival' or 'restoration' of Classical Latin, and the continuation of Medieval Latin as Church Latin. It is in this period that the linguistic reforms initiated by Pepin and Charlemagne, and the recognition of the French language as distinct from Latin in 813 A.D. by the Council of Tours occurred (Politzer 1949:126). As an added note, what is frequently referred to as Vulgar Latin, or Late Latin (Herman 1991:39), is best slotted in at the section on the written line labelled 'post classical'.

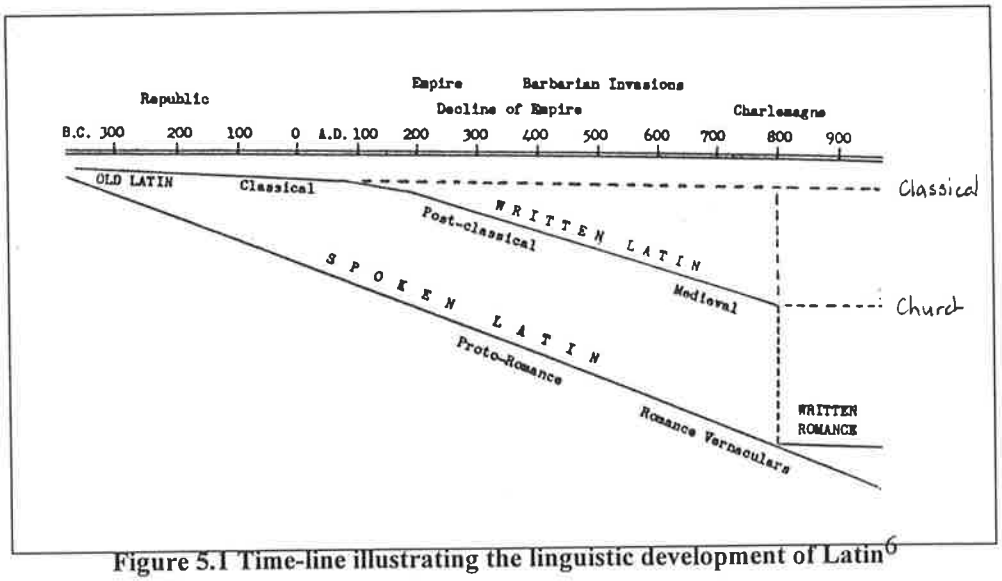

Figure 5.1 Time-line illustrating the linguistic development of Latin[6]

To trace the course of the development of Latin to the Romance languages[7], and consequently the shift of a non-configurational to a configurational language, it is necessary to look at language change due to internal factors (i.e. natural language growth), and language change

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[5]Dialectal differentiation is illustrated in Figure 5.3.
[6]See Pulgram (1950:462).
[7]I do not wish to imply here that spoken Latin underwent a sufficient number of lexical or grammatical changes so that it was no longer Latin and had become one of the Romance languages, rather that the various Romance languages were determined as such as a result of social consensus (Lloyd 1991:15).

due to external factors (e.g. contact). A limiting factor in an investigation of this kind, is that it can be difficult to distinguish between internal and external factors of language change, especially as languages and their speakers generally do not exist in isolation, and that a lack of contemporary sources or speakers obliges a reliance upon data that has been obtained through methods of reconstruction.[8] By far, the greatest difficulty in such an investigation is coming to terms with the lengthy history of Latin, much of which can only be guessed at, as well as the enormous diversity of external influences. As I discovered, a study of Latin does not lend itself well to a comparative study of non-configurational languages, particularly from a sociolinguistic perspective. Consequently, I have had to be content with an outline of some of the language groups with which Latin came into contact, and some of the morpho-syntactic changes that occurred and facilitated the subsequent shift in configurationality, relying on the results of earlier studies. Where possible, I note some of the sociolinguistic and ecolinguistic factors that are known to have influenced language change in contemporary situations.

5.2 Externally motivated change

Spoken Latin was the lingua franca of the Roman Empire, and it is generally maintained that the various Romance languages are the result of spoken Latin having come into contact with regional languages, which then continued to change as a result of contact with other languages, and as part of 'normal' language growth.[9]

5.2.1 Roman Empire: early contact languages for Latin

History and legend inform that Rome was founded by Latin colonists from Alba Longa in 753B.C.. The early contact situation (e.g. through trade) and the conquest of neighbouring areas brought the Latin speaking Romans into contact with speakers of diverse languages, including those of the Italian Peninsula such as Etruscan, Umbrian, Sabellic and Oscan (Elcock 1975:184). The influence of Etruscan, a non-Indo-European language, on Latin was

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[8]See Chapter Three.

[9]However, the already complex contact situation for the Romance languages may in fact extend beyond the known regional languages and Latin. According to the Mediterranean Hypothesis there existed an indigenous family of languages in the Mediterranean region, not belonging to the Indo-European or Semitic language groups, traces of which can be found in modern and ancient European languages (Craddock 1969:15).

primarily lexical, particularly in the vocabulary of arts and culture (Baldi 1994:2051). Oscan, Umbrian and Sabellic are members of the second sub-division of Italic languages, with Latin and Faliscan members of the first. After the rise of Latin, the written forms of Oscan and Umbrian disappeared at the end of the first century B.C., but evidence suggests that the morphology and syntax of these languages were similar to that of Latin (Baldi 1994:1792). The dominance of one language frequently eclipses other dialects or languages that are used in a region (e.g. Occitan and Provençal in France), and it appears that many of the Italian dialects such as Oscan, continued to be spoken well into the first century A.D. (Polome 1980:193).

Throughout the next five centuries, following the conquest of the Italian Peninsular in 264 B.C., Rome extended its territories to include much of the area surrounding the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and from Spain to Syria. Consequently, the Romans came into more close contact with speakers of other languages including, Greek, Celtic, and Germanic (see Figure 5.2).

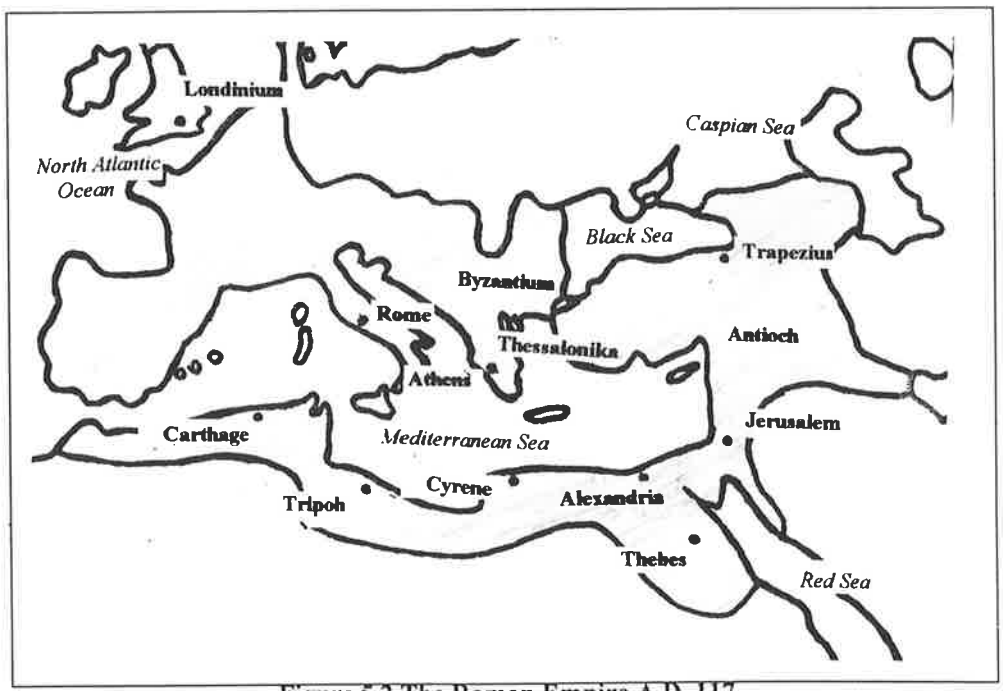

Figure 5.2 The Roman Empire A.D. 117

With the exception of pockets of resistance, for example the Basques and Bretons (Varvaro 1991:46), the dominance and the spread of Latin throughout the Roman Empire is evident by the diverse Romance languages, whose lexicon and pronunciation were, and are, subject to local influences but whose grammar is basically Latin. The five basic groupings of the Romance languages are: Gallo-Romance (e.g. French); Hispano-Romance (e.g. Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan); Italo-Romance (e.g. Italian and Sardinian); Rheto-Romance (e.g. Romansch, Engadinish, Ladin and Friulan); and, Balkan-Romance (e.g. Romanian) (Elcock 1975:30). The exact number of Romance languages is difficult to ascertain, in part because of the of the ambiguity of the term 'language', but thirty-nine have been listed in the *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics* (Bright 1992:341-343).

Hall (1950:24, Figure B), having employed comparative reconstruction methods[10], has illustrated some of the possible initial stages of dialectal differentiation of Latin as a family tree, which has been reproduced in Figure 5.3. Dialectal differentiation is the result of a number of factors such as time, distance, and degree of integration, together with the linguistic substrata and superstrata (Pulgram 1950:464). Furthermore, Politzer (1949:130) notes that 'essential differentiating features of the various Romance languages and dialects are directly related to the time at which the particular language or dialect emerged as separate from Latin in the consciousness of the speakers'.

As mentioned in 3.1.1 the family tree model is somewhat limited in describing the interaction of different languages in a contact situation. For instance, Figure 5.3 fails to illustrate the contributions of contact languages to the development of the Romance languages, or the gradual changes which may have occurred through the increased use of a contact language. Instead, it gives the impression that the languages suddenly split from one another with a focus on the historical rather than the linguistic factors. The influence of languages such as Iberian and Celtic in the Romance languages have been minimal, but there are hundreds of Germanic words, particularly those pertaining to military terms, in Gallo-Romance. Also the

[10]See Chapter Three, section 3.1.

influence of Arabic and Hebrew is evident in Spanish, Portuguese, and Provençal, as is the influence of the Slavonic languages in Romanian.

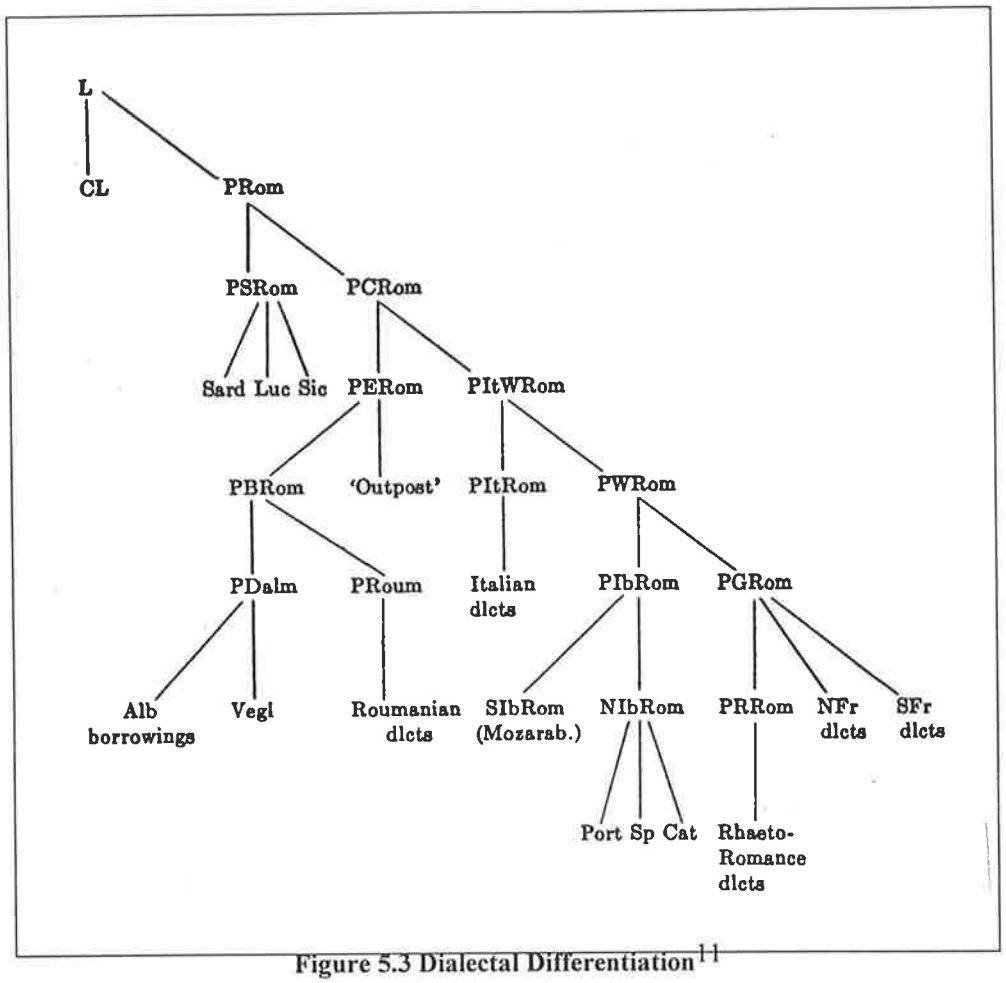

Figure 5.3 Dialectal Differentiation[11]

5.2.2 Latin: as a dominant language - sociolinguistic factors

Typically, the Romans established colonies in their newly acquired territories. The 'settlement' of these lands meant Roman administration, law, education and religion conducted and documented in the Latin language as part of the Roman 'civilising' process. In many instances, it also meant the establishment of Roman schools, temples, types of entertainment and market places. Interaction between Roman administrators, soldiers, traders, settlers and the local inhabitants led to the need for a common language, which in most cases was Latin. As Elcock (1975:183) notes, the local people acquired a degree of Latin for their functional needs in order to 'benefit from the services provided and to enjoy the amenities'. A common by-product of colonisation was political and social unity, which facilitated the

[11]See Hall (1950:24, Figure B).

adoption of Latin into remote regions from major Roman settlements.[12] Elcock notes (1960:199) that in the case of Gaul, old Celtic townships became 'centres for the diffusion of Latin'. In some instances where Latin was not adopted into the densely populated rural areas, 'then with the social decay of towns the native idiom tended to flow back and eliminate Latin' (Elcock 1975:183).

The influence of Latin, as a 'dominant' language, varied according to a number of sociolinguistic factors. One such factor was the relative prestige of the existing languages spoken in the new colonies. For example, in the eastern part of the Roman Empire, extending from the Black Sea to southern Italy, Greek was spoken and held higher esteem than Latin and consequently, Latin failed to be adopted to any significant or lasting degree in that region (Elcock 1975:215). The Germanic languages of the Goths and the Franks, on the other hand, were considered to be of relatively low prestige by those in Roman territories to the north, posing little threat to the overall dominance of Latin (Elcock 1975:205).

The degree and duration of integration was another significant factor. The conquest of the Gauls in Spain, for instance, was followed by 'the assimilation of Gauls to a Roman way of life' (Elcock 1975:198). Schools were established in Gaul where 'the sons of the Celtic nobility could absorb Roman culture, and learn the 'correct' Latin of Rome itself,' in contrast to the vernacular spoken by Roman traders and soldiers (Elcock 1975:199). Romanisation outside of Italy, however, was in general, a slow process and there is evidence of Gaulish and Celtic still being used in inscriptions and graffiti until the fourth and fifth century A.D. respectively (Polome 1980:193).

Geographical distance from Rome also greatly affected the degree of Roman influence, and that of the Latin language: the greater the distance from Rome the greater the influence of the local language, or dialect. The relative remoteness of areas such as the Balkans and the British Isles was one of several factors which saw the slow adoption of Latin, and the maintenance of

[12] Refer to wave model in Chapter Three, section 3.1.2.

local dialects and languages in those areas, particularly in the outer rural areas (Elcock 1975:200).

The sociolinguistic consequences of Roman occupation can also be broadly summarised according to situational changes and changes in the situational context of language (Mühlhäusler 1989), which effected changes in speech events (Hymes 1964).

The remnants of Roman occupation, and subsequent Romanisation, are still evident today in many parts of its former territories. As well as the linguistic legacy, there is the lasting evidence of Roman infrastructure: roads, aqueducts, baths, amphitheatres, temples and so on. The assimilation of indigenous inhabitants, a change in material culture, the alteration, reorientation and expansion of existing communication networks, and the alteration to the spiritual culture all played a significant role in changing the existing sociolinguistic structures. Other sociolinguistic changes included, changes to the status of local languages, with Latin for the most part becoming the prestigious language, and the usefulness of local languages reduced, with Latin serving as the language of trade, administration, literature, religion, the arts and entertainment. Also, initial bilingualism as a result of the contact situation was eventually replaced by Latin alone, the lingua franca and the unifying language.

Through the Romanisation of the Empire, excluding Greece and remote regions, changes in situation and in the situational contexts of language affecting speech events, (e.g. topic, setting, scene, channels, etc.) would have effected significant change to the languages of the subject peoples, but relatively minimal change to the Latin language. The transition of Latin from a local to a 'world' language and the complex contact situation, required firmly established support systems in order to maintain the written language which was markedly different to the spoken language. These linguistic support structures (e.g. schools administration) were established as part of the Romanising process of the colonies. The fall of the Empire, however, resulted in a decline in the forces maintaining the written standards and subsequently the loss of the necessary grammatical structures and contexts for the expression of free word order.

5.2.3 Latin: adstratum influence

> *Adstratum: the influence of the language of either the 'invaders' or 'invaded' group, neither of whom are dominant or sub-ordinate in the contact situation.*

The influence of Greek upon Latin is so wide ranging that it is considered to be more of an adstratum than a substratum influence. Even the Etruscan alphabet, upon which the Latin alphabet is based, is thought to have a Greek source. The dialects of Greece are customarily categorised into four major groups: Ionian, Dorian, Aeolian, and Arcado-Cypriot. The emergence of the larger political unit of Greece and the rise of Athens in the fifth century, led to the use of Attic (a convergence of Attic and Ionian dialects) as the standard language for administration throughout Greece and for all official written communication (Horrocks 1997:29). Attic Greek is an inflectional language with both suffixes and prefixes, it has a case system similar to that of Latin (Palmer 1980:201-315), and a basic SVO word order.[13] It was the prestigious language of educated Athenians, but it was not the language spoken by the majority. Koine, an everyday language based on Attic, became the lingua franca of the Greek Empire. One possible reason for the significant number of similarities in the grammatical structure of Greek and Latin is that they inherited common grammatical features from Proto-Indo European (Baldi 1994:2051).

However, contact with Greek trading stations and the 'conquest' of Greece by Rome in 272BC, had a considerable impact on the influence of Greek upon Latin and to a lesser extent Latin upon Greek. The contribution of Greek to Latin was 'a continuous accretion of new terminology from a language of a superior civilisation' (Elcock 1975:210). The high prestige of Greek language and culture resulted in the use of Greek as a model for Latin grammar and literature (Lyons 1968:13). The influence of the stylised written models of Attic Greek[14]

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[13]See Chapter Three, section 3.5.4.

[14]Incidences of a prestigious form of a language acting as a model for the development of another language have occurred elsewhere. The example of modern Thai for instance, in which the 'speech norms of the local elite have been transmitted to the masses' (Foley 1997:415).

literature possibly assisted in preserving the gap between written and spoken Latin and the highly artificial word order of Classical Latin.

Furthermore, evidence suggests that a significant number of Romans were bilingual in Greek and Latin, and that they had a practical knowledge of Koine and a reading knowledge of Attic (Horrocks 1997:73). The reciprocal lexical borrowing, and phonological and grammatical convergence between the written official Latin and Greek languages, compounds the difficulty of identifying which language influenced the other (Horrocks 1997:73-74). Moreover the similarities of the two languages 'may be shared developments based on a pre-existing structural similarity or parallel developmental trend' (Horrocks 1997:74).

5.2.4 Latin: substratum influences

> *Substratum: influence from the language of an 'invaded people' who shift to the language of the 'invaders' (e.g. Celtic on the Latin of ancient Gaul). The order of substratum influence in language shift is usually sounds, syntax and least of all vocabulary.*[15] *(see Thomason & Kaufman 1988:116)*

In many cases, what followed a lengthy period of bilingualism, with substratum influence upon Latin, was the eventual death of the local language (Elcock 1975:183). An extended period of bilingualism and a slow shift to the target language typically results in minimal substrative influence, and as Varvaro (1991:47) notes, the substratum influence upon Latin was largely lexical. This substrative influence, together with the impact of later invaders, was however, significant enough to differentiate the different Romance varieties.

One of the major substratum influences was that of the Celtic languages. The influence of Celtic language and culture was spread over a wide area including what would later become the north-western part of the Roman Empire: Gaul (e.g. France), western Spain, the British Isles, parts of Italy, northern Greece, and Asia Minor (e.g. Turkey) (Elcock 1975:195). Conquest of these Celtic territories by the Romans, eventually resulted in an overall decrease

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[15]In contrast, 'superstratum' refers to the influence of the language of an 'invading group' who shift to the language of the 'invaded people' (e.g. Norman French on Old English).

in the use of Celtic and an increase in the use of Latin. The substratum influence of Celtic in Latin and the subsequent Romance languages was mostly lexical, for instance: place names, terms denoting topographical features, and terms associated with everyday life, (e.g. the French word for 'soot': *suie* (Elcock 1975:205-209)).

5.2.5 Post Roman Empire: contact languages for the Romance languages

After the collapse of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, a series of 'migrations' by speakers of Germanic, Slavic and Arabic languages initiated further linguistic change to the developing Romance languages (Elcock 1975:225-311). The effect of these migrations is evident in the lexicon of the various Romance languages and in some instances in the grammatical structure. For example, there are words of Germanic origin in Rheto-Romance, words of Slavic origin in Balkan-Romance, and words of Arabic origin in Hispano-Romance.[16]

Another consequence of these migrations was the displacement of speakers of the Romance languages and in some instances, the Romance languages themselves. The southward movement of the Visigoths, the Burgandies, Alumnis and the Bavarians, beginning in the fifth century, assisted in the subsequent relative isolation of speakers of Rheto-Romance in the Alps, and the Slavic migrations basically dispossessed Romance in the Balkans. According to Elcock (1960:284), there is little evidence of Balkan-Romance from the sixth century until the sixteenth century, when Rumanian began to appeared in religious texts. New contact languages also emerged, such as Mozarabic in the Spanish Peninsula.

5.3 Changes in the grammatical structure of Classical Latin

> *The emergent fixed word order was by no means always Subject-Verb-Object - several kinds of inversions, prescribed by a syntactic environment such as interrogation, have developed in the Romance languages - but the Latin possibility of conveying emphasis by varying word-order has generally had to be sacrificed. The relative latitude enjoyed by modern Castillian is more apparent than real; more patterns do exist, but they are tied to syntactical environments by more complex conventions. (Elcock 1975:81)*

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[16]For more information re: Late Latin and Early Romance, see Wright (1982).

Until the fifth century, when regionally marked features appear, changes to Latin grammar were not strictly defined geographically. Once incorporated, those changes spread throughout the Roman Empire maintaining a sense of linguistic homogeneity of the written language, but not of the spoken language (Varvaro 1991:46-8). Change to Latin grammar as a result of contact was mainly lexical and phonemic, less so syntactic. There was some lexical reduction and impoverishment affecting words of low frequency, 'superfluous' vocabulary, and words of highly irregular paradigms (Whinnom 1971:206). Inevitably a reduced form of spoken Latin developed as the result of levelling.

As for Warlpiri, I will not focus on the lexical or phonetic changes that occurred in Latin, but again I acknowledge the significance of such changes in that they may trigger morphological and ultimately syntactic change. For instance, sound changes obscured some morphological distinctions in Latin, as for the accusative case where the loss of the final 'm' meant the loss of the distinction between the nominative, accusative and ablative[17] feminine singular of '-a' stem nominals (*puella* (nom./abl.), *puellam* (acc.): *puella* (nom./acc./abl.) resulting in the use of word order, and/or prepositions, to convey grammatical meaning. Rather than looking at the phonological changes, I will note some of the morpho-syntactic changes that occurred in the grammatical structure of Latin. Changes that assisted in the shift of Latin from a synthetic to an analytic language (in its Romance forms), and from a non-configurational to a configurational language.

The principle functions of inflectional morphology are: to signal relationships between words in utterances; to add accidental information, such as tense, case, number voice, mood etc.; and, to signal word class membership (Mühlhäusler 1997:142-143). With reference to a shift in configurationality, the morphosyntax of nominals becomes relevant, and the expression of grammatical function in Latin changed as both a prerequisite and a result of the decline of the case system. 'Case-relationships were now expressed more analytically by prepositions ... and moreover, the order of words in the sentence became fixed' (Elcock 1975:80-81).

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[17]The ablative singular form of 'a' stem nouns in Latin may be differentiated from the nominative singular by vowel length: nominative suffix has a short vowel and the ablative a long vowel sound.

Classical Latin uses inflectional morphology in the form of suffixes to signal the relationship between words and to add accidental information. For example, case markings on nominals indicate gender, number, and grammatical function. Classical Latin has seven cases: nominative, vocative, accusative, genitive, dative, ablative and locative, and five major noun groupings (see Table 5.1).[18]

		1st decl.	2nd decl.		3rd decl.			4th decl.	5th decl.
		'a' stem	*'o' stem*		*cons. stem*	*'i' stem*		*'u' stem*	*'e' stem*
		(f.)	*(m.)*	*(n.)*	*(m. f. n.)*	*(m. f.)*	*(n.)*	*(m. n.)*	*(f.)*
		(table f.)	(master m.)		(king m.)			(step m.)	(thing f.)
sg.	*nom.*	mens-a	domin-us (er)	um	rex-ø	is/es	e/l/r	grad-us (u)	r-es
	voc.	mens-a	domin-e (er)	um	rex-ø	is/es	e/l/r	grad-us (u)	r-es
	acc.	mens-am	domin-um	um	reg-em (ø)	is/es	e/l/r	grad-um (u)	r-em
	gen.	mens-ae	domin-i	i	reg-is	is	is	grad-us	r-ei
	dat.	mens-ae	domin-o	o	reg-i	i	i	grad-ui (u)	r-ei
	abl.	mens-a	domin-o	o	reg-e	i/e	i/e	grad-u	r-e
	loc.	mens-ae	domin-i	i	reg-e	i/e	i/e	grad-i	r-e
pl.	*nom.*	mens-ae	domin-i	a	reg-es (a)	es	ia	grad-us	r-es
	voc.	mens-ae	domin-i	a	reg-es (a)	es	ia	grad-us	r-es
	acc.	mens-as	domin-os	a	reg-es (a)	es/is	ia	grad-us	r-es
	gen.	mens-arum	domin-orum	orum	reg-um	ium	ium	grad-uum	r-erum
	dat.	mens-is	domin-is	is	reg-ibus	ibus	ibus	grad-ibus	r-ebus
	abl.	mens-is	domin-is	is	reg-ibus	ibus	ibus	grad-ibus	r-ebus
	loc.	mens-is	domin-is	is	reg-ibus	ibus	ibus	grad-ibus	r-ebus

Table 5.1 Case endings in Latin[19]

A reduction in the number of cases in Latin, resulted in a greater reliance upon word order and in an increase in the use of prepositions to express grammatical meaning. The nominative and vocative, and the ablative and locative cases were already similar in classical times, and one of the differences between Classical and spoken Latin included the loss of the final 's' which was symptomatic of the loss of case (Varvaro 1991:46), followed by an increasing use of, and dependency on, prepositions (Elcock 1975:34, Harris 1976b:40). In Plautus (c.200B.C.), possibly reflecting spoken Latin more closely than Classical Latin, the prepositions *de* (down, from, ...) and *ad* (towards, to, ...) are used in place of the genitive and dative cases in noun phrases (Harris 1976b:40). Elcock (1975:34) notes that in the works of Cicero (80-43B.C.) and Petronius (c.60A.D.) there is also an increasing use of prepositions replacing the dative and genitive, for example:

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[18]There was originally another case, the instrumental (or sociative), which had already merged with the ablative before the classical era (Kennedy 1962:14).

[19]See Kennedy (1962:12-36) for more information concerning the declension of Latin nouns.

(i)	*aptus*	*alicui*	*rei* (adj./dat.):		fitted to something
	fitted (adj.sg.)	some+dat.(sg.)	thing+dat.(sg.)		
becomes:	*aptus*	*ad*	*aliquam*	*rem* (adj./acc.);	
	fitted (adj.sg.)	to (prep.)	some+acc.(sg.)	thing+acc.(sg.)	

(ii)	*scribere*	*frati*	*meo* (inf./dat.):	to write to my brother
	to write (pres.inf.)	brother+dat.(sg.)	me+dat.(sg.)	
becomes:	*scribere*	*ad*	*meum*	*fratrem* (inf./acc);[20]
	to write (pres.inf.)	to (prep.)	me+acc.(sg)	brother+acc.(sg.)

(iii)	*unus*	*eorum* (nom./gen.):		one of them
	one (nom.sg.)	them+gen.(pl.)		
becomes:	*unus*	*ex*	*eis* (nom./abl.).	
	one (nom.sg.)	from (prep.)	them+abl.(pl.)	

By the fifth century, only the nominative, accusative and a few uses of the dative remained. The accusative case, with or without a preposition, was employed to express the grammatical function of the ablative, locative, genitive and dative cases (Elcock 1975:73).[21]

Baldi (1994:2054-5) notes that the increase in the use of prepositions and word order to define grammatical function was the result of a number of interconnected factors such as phonetic developments (already mentioned above), the ambiguity caused by a number of case endings being similar to one another, and the overlap in the function of some Latin cases. An example of the homophony of the Latin case system is illustrated by the genitive, dative singular and nominative and vocative plural of feminine '-a' stem nominals:

puellae: of the girl (gen.sg.), to/for the girl (dat.sg.),
the girls (nom.pl.), and O girls! (voc.pl.)

And also by the genitive singular and nominative and vocative plural of masculine '-o' stem nominals:

pueri: of the boy (gen.sg.), the boys (nom.pl.), and O boys! (voc.pl.).[22]

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[20]Note also word order change.

[21]The number of declensions also diminished, from five to three. The fifth declension merged with the first, and the fourth with the second (Elcock 1975:74).

[22]The verb, marked for person and number, helped to differentiate between singular and plural.

The overlap in case use can be seen in the ablative and genitive cases. Compare the following examples illustrating the 'ablative of price' (used with verbs and adjectives of buying and selling) and the 'genitive of value' (used with verbs of buying and selling) and also, the 'ablative of agent' and 'the genitive of author'.

Ablative of Price	*Equum*	***quinque***	***minis***	*emit.*
	horse+acc.(sg.)	five	mina+abl.(pl.)	to buy (pt.3sg.)

He bought a horse for **five minae**.

cf.

Genitive of Value	*Emit*	*equos*	***tanti***	***quanti***
	to buy (pt.3sg.)	horses+acc.(pl.)	so great+gen.(sg.)	a price+gen.(sg.)

Sextus	*voluit.*
Sextus+nom.(sg..)	to wish (pt.3s).

He bought the horses **at the price** Sextus wanted.

Ablative of Agent	*Malo*	***a***	***amico***	*iudcari*
	to prefer (pres.1sg.)	by (prep.)	friend+abl.(sg.)	to criticise (pres.pass.inf.)
	quam	***ab***	***hoste***	*laudari.*
	than	by (prep.)	enemy+abl.(sg.)	to praise (pres.inf.)

I would rather be criticised **by a friend** than praised **by an enemy**.

cf.

Genetive of Author	*Legendi*	*sunt*	*vobis*
	must be read (gerundive nom.pl.)	are (pres.3pl.)	you+abl (2pl)

Caesaris	*libri.*
Caesar+gen.(sg.)	books+nom. (pl.)

You should read the works **of (written by)** Caesar.

The erosion of case, mirrored by an increasing use of prepositions and reliance upon word order to express grammatical meaning, resulted in a shift in the freedom of word order in Latin. However, as noted in the Chapter Four, although certain structural features (e.g. case) are necessary for a language to be non-configurational, there are also a number of sociolinguistic factors fundamental to the expression of free word order.

5.4 In summary

The shift in freedom of word order in Latin, from a non-configurational to a configurational language, is illustrated by its shift from synthetic to an analytic language, primarily through phonetic and then morphemic change, followed by a need to express grammatical function in an alternative manner. Pragmatically based free word order in Latin shifted to a dominant VO order in Romance, usually SVO. Although suffixal inflection is well preserved in the Romance languages, except in French[23], analytic constructions with auxiliaries have largely replaced the synthetic case system of Latin and the function of the case system has been taken over by prepositions and a fixed word order.

The shift in configurationality may have been part of 'normal' language growth encouraged, or exacerbated, by a contact situation. It has already been noted that significant changes to case endings were already present at a time when contact was largely based in and around the Italian Peninsula in the first century A.D.. In which case, the pronunciation changes that occurred as a result of contact may have served to encourage a change that was already underway. Furthermore, facets of the spoken language had already undergone significant change long before they were reflected, or recorded, in the written form.

But what is the link, if any, between the contact situation of Latin, as a free word order language, and the fixed word order of the Romance languages? Indeed, it is frequently noted that the greatest influence the contact languages had upon Latin was in its lexicon and pronunciation, least so in the grammatical structure and syntax. Furthermore, many of the contact languages, were typologically similar to Latin, that is inflectional (e.g. Etruscan, Ancient Greek, Celtic, Arabic, Frankish etc.). Consequently, the extended contact situation with these languages would have resulted in minimal 'syntactical' conflict and very likely in simplification and reduction with cost[24], that is replacement of affixation with word order.

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[23]Erosion of the inflectional endings in French led to a prefixing system to indicate gender, number, and person.

[24]See Chapter Three, section 3.3.2.

There is some indication, however, that later contact languages did directly influence the grammar and word order of the Romance languages. For example, the syntactic changes that occurred in Gallo-Romance. The SVO word order in Modern French, emanating from a rule in Old French that the verb must occupy the second position, while the remaining word order is free is thought to be due to Germanic influences and not inherited from the Latin. This rule is unknown in the other Romance languages.[25]

Another factor associated with the shift in the freedom of word order in Latin and the contact situation, was that together with the expansion of Empire, the number of people acquiring Latin as a second language rose. Consequently, there was a large number of people who spoke Latin as a second language over successive generations, for a wide variety of purposes and in a wide variety of contexts, few of whom were literate in Latin. Without the reinforcement of the social structures mentioned above, or complete linguistic socialisation, incorrect acquisition and dialect levelling may have occurred.[26]

The shift in the freedom of word order in Latin either as a result of 'natural' language growth or as a result of the contact situation, or both, was not explicitly documented until the sociolinguistic structures which had supported the preservation of Classical Latin as the official written language and provided contexts for the expression of free word order, gave way to the representation of the spoken language in the written word.

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[25]Internal change would explain this syntactic feature, but it could also be due to a combination of external/internal influences/interference (Thomason & Kaufmann 1988:125).
[26]Arabic seems to have undergone a similar development. Phonological changes occurred to the spoken language soon after the Islamic conquests in the seventh century A.D. The loss of final vowels led to the collapse of many morphological distinctions and the dialectal syntax generally fixed as SVO compare with the very flexible word order of Classical Arabic (Holes 1994:149).

Chapter Six

CONCLUSION

Reiterating some of the initial questions which motivated this investigation may be a useful starting point for a concluding summary. Why do so many languages employ word order instead of case endings to express grammatical meaning? Are non-configurational languages more vulnerable to typological change than configurational languages in a contact situation? What relevance do sociolinguistic factors have in typological shift? Is a shift in configurationality unidirectional or cyclic? In answering these questions, I have outlined some of the significant aspects of language change and a shift in configurationality in a contact situation, with some reference to Warlpiri and Latin.

6.1 Contact, language change, and a shift in configurationality

As mentioned in Chapter Three, language change may be the result of a number of diverse, yet interrelated factors. It may occur as the result of forces operating from within, or external to, a language. Typological inconsistencies, breaks in implicational universal word order, and discrepancies between morpheme and word order are indices of language contact in the syntactic area (Mühlhäusler 1987:489). Typically the shift from a non-configurational to a configurational language is the result of external forces. A contact situation may lead to a reduction in some part of the grammatical structure, and simplification which increases the regularity of the grammatical structure. For instance, the relationship between morphology and phonology is such, that a reduction in morphological markedness typically leads to a reduction in morphological function and in the ease of production, but it may also lead to an increase in phonological markedness, in the difficulty of perception, in the instances of one form equals one meaning, and in naturalness. Also significant, is the relationship between morphology and syntax, in which grammatical relationships are signalled either through morphology or syntax. A reduction in morphological function therefore, requires that grammatical relations be expressed syntactically. Exceptions to these sequences of events do arise, particularly in a contact situation as a result of the incidence of abnatural[1]

[1] 'Abnatural' in that the developments are natural but occur less frequently, or are less expected without external pressure resulting in language change that is atypical.

developments. While the shift from a non-configurational to a configurational language does not require highly abnatural morphology, the reverse is true of a shift from a configurational to a non-configurational language.

The type and degree of change, as a result of contact, is dependent upon a wide range of linguistic and sociolinguistic variables. With reference to language change in a contact situation, one may venture to say that social factors will outweigh linguistic ones. However, there are absolute typological constraints which will influence the outcome of a contact situation. For instance, a weak social pressure would not easily be able to reconcile unrelated typologies.

Social factors involved in language change - although it may be difficult at times to separate them from linguistic factors - include the geographical, social, economic, political and cultural differences of the groups in contact. For example, the intensity of contact, the length of time contact has taken place and the level of bilingualism achieved, the relative prestige of the languages involved, and the emotional and psychological incentives with regards to learning another language and supporting language maintenance. Also the relative size of the speaker group facilitates the transmission of language as well as the range of contexts in which the language may be spoken and remain viable.

Some of the linguistic factors affecting language change include the typologies of the languages in contact, from isolating to polysynthetic, the segmentability of morphemes, the forces of typological harmony and the principles of implicational universals.[2] There are more documented cases of syntactic borrowing to replace morphology than there are of morphology to replace syntax, and morphology is least likely to be borrowed or acquired in shift, while word order is more likely. Therefore, if one language is inflectional and the other isolating the anticipated result will be a reduction of morphological complexity and the borrowing of syntax. Moreover, if both languages in a contact situation are inflectional change will usually result in replacement of affixation by word order. Unless, however, they are closely related

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[2]See Chapter Three, sections 3.3 and 3.5.

languages, such as Dutch and German, in which case there will be some leveling, a decrease in morphological function and syntax will be used to express grammatical relationships.

6.2 Summary of typological shift in Warlpiri and Latin

I initially envisaged the course of this investigation quite simply as investigating the shift in the freedom of word order in Latin to a more fixed word order in its modern day form - the Romance languages. In order to do so, I intended to investigate the linguistic changes necessary for such a shift, for instance the loss of case accompanied by an increasing dependence upon prepositions and word order to express grammatical meaning. I then intended to use this information as a basis for a preliminary investigation into the situation of Warlpiri, a 'living' non-configurational language, and to discover if there had been any indications of a shift to fixed word order as a result of contact with a dominant configurational language, namely English. In order to make my understanding of language change and shift in the freedom of word order more complete, I felt that it was imperative to also investigate the sociolinguistic situation for Warlpiri, highlighting the fact that social change also brings about linguistic change, not only at the lexical level but also at the morpho-syntactic level.

What I hoped to gain by doing a comparative study of this kind, was that the linguistic history of Latin might reveal something about the future of Warlpiri, and that the sociolinguistic aspects of Warlpiri might provide some insight into the role of sociolinguistic factors in the linguistic changes that occurred to Latin. However, language related issues are rarely simple.

While investigating free word order in Latin I came to realise that although having free word order in a language and the shift to fixed word order are linguistically interrelated processes[3], they refer to two distinct aspects of the language. Free word order in Latin is a stylised form (or register) of the language used for specific spoken and written purposes (e.g. oration, poetry). However, the relatively fixed word order of 'modern Latin', that is the Romance languages emerged from everyday spoken language, which evidence suggests did not closely

[3]That is, free word order requires grammatical meaning to be expressed by means of the affixation of morphemes, whereas in fixed word order grammatical meaning is expressed syntactically.

reflect the written language, especially with regards to syntax. In other words, an investigation into the shift of free word order in Latin to the fixed word order of the Romance languages involves, on the one hand, the highly stylised form of Latin used for specific literary or oratory purposes where the language's potential for free word order is used to the maximum benefit, and on the other hand, the everyday spoken language, or vernacular, from which the Romance languages emerged and seem to have been governed by certain word order constraints. Furthermore, it seems that the linguistic structures necessary for free word order to occur were already undergoing change in spoken Latin of the first century B.C. From the scant evidence available of what spoken Latin may have been like[4], there are indications that there was already a loss of case, dependence upon prepositions, and a preferred word order.

The investigation of a shift in the freedom of word order in Warlpiri presented a different set of problems to the case of Latin. It has been argued that there is no underlying word order in Warlpiri and that any word order tendencies are context specific (i.e. pragmatically based) (Swartz 1991:43). However, other studies (e.g. Bavin and Shopen 1985) indicate that sociolinguistic change has resulted in a change in the lexicon and structure of Warlpiri, and furthermore that there is a preferred word order in written texts. Therefore, in order to establish evidence of a shift in configurationality in Warlpiri it would be necessary to identify particular registers or contexts which display significant variability of word order usage, to identify any sociolinguistic changes, particularly in areas which support complex morphology, and to identify changes in the spoken language which indicate grammatical meaning is no longer morphologically, but syntactically based. Unfortunately an investigation into the word order variability in different registers or contexts is beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, I do not have the thorough grasp of Warlpiri necessary to be able to state with any certainty what constitutes word order variability within the constraints of acceptable or 'good' Warlpiri. However, I have been able to lay the ground work for a detailed sociolinguistic investigation and to note some of the changes in the sociolinguistic and grammatical structure of Warlpiri which relate to a shift in configurationality.

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[4]Refer to Chapter Five, section 5.1.

6.2.1 The case of Warlpiri

The Warlpiri language is a 'living' example of a non-configurational language in a contact situation, undergoing change. Previously, it had been in a traditional contact situation with other Australian Indigenous languages and indications are that this traditional contact situation assisted in language maintenance rather than loss. The fate of Warlpiri in a contact situation with a dominant configurational language, namely English, proves to be less sustaining than the traditional situation and there have been dramatic changes to the social and linguistic environment. Almost every aspect of Warlpiri life has been touched and altered. Furthermore, an increasing contact with English language and 'western' culture has resulted in decreasing contact with traditional neighbours.

The complex morphology of a free word order language requires significant social and cultural support to sustain it. So then, what is the function, or what is to be gained by having a non-configurational language in an oral based tradition? Firstly, it may serve to exclude, by minimising comprehension and learnability. Warlpiri speakers traditionally used a number of esoteric registers to define kin-relationships and for initiation ceremonies and so on. Secondly, stylistic reasons may also play a role in the application of free word order, for instance, word order may indicate emphasis. Laughren (1981:1) notes that Warlpiri speakers make obligatory and optional choices with regards to lexicon, morphology and syntax. Obligatory choices are restricted or defined by the situation and the circumstance, while the optional choices are made for effect and expression.

Some speakers of Warlpiri at Yuendumu have had significant contact with English for more than fifty years. One consequence of this contact has been the reduction of the social and linguistic structures which support non-configurationality, for instance, the relatively small speaker group and decrease in traditional pastimes have reduced contexts for language use and opportunities for Warlpiri to be passed on to succeeding generations. Furthermore, with regards to utilisation of non-configurationality in a non-traditional high information society, in which there is a shift toward language standardisation for teaching and publication purposes, the viability of esoteric registers and stylistic choices available is markedly diminished. Although new contexts for Warlpiri use have arisen, they are outnumbered and

outweighed by the overall prestige and applicability of English at the nation wide and local level, compared with the prestige and applicability of Warlpiri at the local level alone.

Although contact with English has been intense, bilingual education and Warlpiri literacy have acted as a brake, and appear to have arrested the morphological shift and diminished the instances of lexical borrowing. The complex morphology necessary for non-configurationality is being maintained by newly formed cultural institutions such as the bilingual program and literacy production. Also emotional and psychological incentives help to maintain Warlpiri language as a symbol of identity and as a link to the land. Other supporting social factors include: increased awareness and interest of language issues at the local and national level, teacher training courses run by Batchelor College which have a significant linguistic component, and the relatively small population size which allows the transmission of language and information about language issues to be spread around the community relatively easily.

Warlpiri is typologically vulnerable to change as a non-configurational language in a contact situation with dominant configurational language. This type of contact situation typically results in a reduction of morphological complexity and in a borrowing of syntax. Some of the linguistic changes to Warlpiri as a result of contact with English have resulted in reduction, replacement and simplification at the lexical, phonemic and structural level, which in some cases may affect the freedom in word order. For instance, changes to the pronominal system have affected the cross-referencing system, which in turn may increase dependence upon the case system for grammatical meaning. If cross-referencing on the auxiliary is lost then anaphora ellipsis can not occur without potential for ambiguity. Furthermore, if both cross referencing on the auxiliary and the case system are lost then there can be no anaphora ellipsis and there is a reliance upon word order for grammatical meaning[5]. Also, the grammatical complexities of Warlpiri means it takes longer for children to learn the language which may make it more susceptible to interference.

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[5]See Chapter Four, section 4.12.

6.2.2 The case of Latin

Classical Latin is a free word order language, and as for Warlpiri, free word order in Latin was a stylistic choice applied for effect, predominantly in written contexts, but quite possibly in spoken ones as well (e.g. oration). By looking at the example of Warlpiri, it may be suggested that free word order in Latin also served an esoteric function, perhaps as an elitist or learned form. Spoken Latin, however, displayed signs of fixed word order already in Classical times (e.g. loss of case, use of prepositions etc.), and it is quite possible then, that social change encouraged the direction of linguistic change already underway.

There is limited information readily available about the syntax of early contact languages for Latin, particularly for the Italic language group (e.g. Etruscan, Faliscan). However, it is quite clear that Ancient Greek, an inflectional, free word order language, had a significant influence on Latin. It served as a model for Classical Latin in both grammatical structure and literary works, and the intense contact situation may have resulted in parallel development. For later contact languages (e.g. Celtic, Germanic), the information to hand is that they were also inflectional. Typically then, one would expect that a certain amount of levelling to have occurred as a result of this contact situation, including reduction and simplification, accompanied by a decrease in morphological function and an increase in the use of syntax to express grammatical relationships (i.e. simplification and reduction with cost).

The expansion of Empire and prestige of Latin meant that the number of contact groups, and the number of speakers of Latin as a second language, increased dramatically. The relatively small degree of substratum influence in the various Romance languages indicate that contact was intense and lengthy for the greater part of the Roman Empire, and that a relatively high level of bilingualism was achieved. As a widespread vernacular, the difficulty of learning Latin, with its complex morphology, by a largely non-literate population also meant that reduction and simplification was likely to occur. One of the first simplifications that occurred to the grammatical system was the loss of final consonants. Having a consonant in the final position of a word is typically unstable, but as it carried a grammatical function in Latin, there was a need to represent that function in a different way, namely through word order.

The social structures which assisted in maintaining the complex morphology of Classical Latin (e.g. Roman schools and administration), the functional need for non-configurationality (e.g. stylistic), and the contexts in which free word order could be optimally utilised (e.g. literature) all diminished with the fall of the Roman Empire. A largely literate population may have been able to help sustain the contexts in which non-configurationality could be optimally utilised, as well as sustain the associated grammatical features necessary for non-configurationality (e.g. case). Social changes reinforced the linguistic changes that had already occurred in the spoken language and, which were no longer able to be artificially maintained by written convention (of an 'out-dated' grammar), and fashion.

6.3 Concluding remarks

I have observed that the typological category of non-configurational is a classification of function rather than form alone. To term a language 'non-configurational' therefore, means that as well as having the necessary structural features which make non-configurationality possible, it also utilises these structural features fulfilling the language's linguistic potential, in which word order is a series of possible choices.

I have also noted that the supporting structural requirements necessary for non-configurationality to occur are not only linguistic but also sociolinguistic. Any change in these supporting structures will most probably result in a fixed word order language either with or without complex morphology (e.g. case). The linguistic changes that occurred in Latin, as it shifted to fixed word order, provides a guide for the linguistic changes that are expected to occur in Warlpiri. Furthermore, the example of Latin is illustrative of the gap between the spoken and written forms of the language which may develop if the written form is artificially maintained over an extended period of time and no longer reflects the spoken language (cf. written Chinese). The case study of Warlpiri illustrates the role sociolinguistic factors play in the maintenance of grammatical structure and in providing a suitable environment for the expression of non-configurationality.

Why do so many languages employ word order instead of case endings to express grammatical meaning? Similarities in languages may be the result of a number of factors including chance, of being genetically related (common origin), contact, pidginisation or creolisation in their past, universals, or deliberate acts of language planning (Comrie 1989:201, & Mühlhäusler 1987:485). As demonstrated in Chapters Four and Five, non-configurational languages are typologically vulnerable, particularly in a contact situation where levelling, simplification and reduction of form may occur. Furthermore, contact between speakers of unrelated languages has become increasingly common in the past century, in part as a result of increased mobility and advanced technology.

Are non-configurational languages more vulnerable to typological change than configurational languages in a contact situation? Indeed, it appears that by having grammatical function morphemically based, it makes a language more vulnerable to change and for the imposition of a more rigid system (i.e. fixed word order), than if grammatical function is syntactically based. Languages with complex morphology may be more difficult, and take longer to learn, and therefore be more likely to fall apart, but a more detailed investigation of language acquisition would be necessary to confirm this.[6] These languages require a great deal of support from social structures in order to be maintained and transmitted to the next generation and a breakdown in the cultural system frequently leads to language disintegration. Moreover, the functional need for configurationality, whether it is stylistic or esoteric, must be valued and maintained.

What relevance do sociolinguistic factors have in typological shift? If the existing sociolinguistic factors, such as education, literacy, and contexts for language use, which support non-configurationality are altered, or lost and not replaced, then a shift in the freedom of word order will follow. Furthermore, literacy may also promote a fixed word order through a lack of body language, such as hand signals, and by encouraging a wide spread vernacular,

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[6] It may be that languages are not inherently more or less difficult to learn but rather that there are certain barriers (structural and sociolinguistic) to language acquisition, for example, languages which are highly inflectional may be more difficult to learn for people who have an isolating language as their first language.

thereby decreasing the incidence of stylistic speech. Other social factors related to typological shift are those which determine contact situations. Socio-historical factors determine which language receives the attention of linguists, which dialect or register of oral languages are documented and standardised, and which dialect or language is promoted above another, in the selection of a national language. For instance, the high proportion of SVO languages (i.e. configurational) in the world is a consequence of the historical social factors that saw the spread of Niger-Congo languages which make up for 40% of that total (Givoń 1974).

Is a shift in configurationality unidirectional or cyclic? Aitchison (1991:221) notes that there is 'no evidence that languages are moving in any particular direction' and from the point of view of language structure, several are moving in contrary motion. Language change is the result of both internal and external processes. Both of these processes alter linguistic structure, and they can result in either a simplification or complication, leading to a circular pattern of change. Given the 'right' social and linguistic conditions circular patterns of change may continue. However, the current social climate, in which there is increasing incidences of contact by unrelated languages and language dominance by a small number of languages encourages a unidirectional movement of languages, tending to shift from non-configurational to configurational.

In conclusion, non-configurational languages require specific social institutions that support the learning and maintenance of the complex morphology necessary to enable free word order to occur, and specific social institutions which foster or provide the context for the utilisation of free word order. Consequently, external forces acting directly on the linguistic systems in contact and indirectly on the supporting sociolinguistic structures may result in typological change. A contact situation in which at least one of the languages is non-configurational will probably result in a shift from a free to a fixed word order.

A final word, with reference to form and function. In *Über die Kawi-sprache*, Humbolt (1836) states that concerning the qualitative differences between language types, inflectional languages represent the ideal.

> *The perfecting of language demands that every word be stamped as a specific part of speech, and carry within it those properties that a philosophical analysis of language perceives therein. It thus presupposes inflection. (Heath (trans.) 1988:140)*

It appears, then, that his ideal language is typologically quite vulnerable and furthermore, that languages are becoming increasingly less perfect.

6.4 Avenues for further investigation

This thesis has relied heavily upon existing knowledge concerning languages in a contact situation and shift in the freedom of word order. Consequently, the result is a modest contribution to the area. What needs to be developed, however, is a framework: that will facilitate a comparative study of syntax, including aspects of configurationality; that will be able to effectively incorporate external factors, such as contact upon word order typology; and, which goes beyond the Thomason and Kaufmann (1988) model, incorporating pidgin and creole development and word order universals. Furthermore, some of the questions I had set out to answer at the beginning of this investigation, have not been adequately resolved. By establishing such wide parameters at the start, I had hoped to gain a more complete understanding of the issues involved in a shift in the freedom of word order, but in doing so, I have limited the depth of the investigation and information obtainable. For instance, the topic of Latin and the development of the Romance languages with reference to a contact situation is such a vast undertaking that it would require a lifetime's work (see the writings of Hugo Schuchardt from the late 1800's to the early 1900's). Perhaps a little more contained, but no less fascinating, would be to do a more complete sociolinguistic analysis of Warlpiri, or to investigate and document word order in the diverse Warlpiri registers (at least those which are relatively accessible - e.g. mother-in-law language). It would also be interesting to do a comparative study of 'Young People's Warlpiri' at different speaker locations, both remote and urban (e.g. Yuendumu, Lajamanu, Alekarenge, Alice Springs, and even possibly Port Pirie in South Australia, which currently has a significant Warlpiri speaker population).

Warlpiri literacy has acted as a brake and arrested the process of change, in fact probably reversed it to some degree. In the light of the recent reversal of the Northern Territory's bilingual policy, it would be interesting to see what the consequences will be, and if in fact

these departmental changes will result in rapid linguistic change and an explicit shift to fixed word order. It would also be instructive to investigate whether other Indigenous Australian languages have undergone a shift in word order freedom, in a contact situation with German speaking missionaries.

WARLPIRI LANGUAGE SURVEY

Dear Participant,
Information gained from this survey will remain anonymous and will be used to assist my research into the Warlpiri language. Please answer all questions as accurately as you are able and feel free to add any extra comments. Thank you for your help.

The following questions are important please answer them. (Remember no names are being recorded.)

Date of birth : _____
Place of birth : _____
How long have you lived at Yuendumu? : _____

Please tick the appropriate box and/or circle the appropriate word.

1(a) Where do you speak Warlpiri, and how often?

		sometimes	most of the time	always
	at school			
	with friends			
	at home			
	with your family			
	at the shop			
	at the clinic			
	at church			
	at the council			
	with visitors			
	in town			
	elsewhere (please specify)			

1(b) Where do you speak English, and how often?

		sometimes	most of the time	always
	at school			
	with friends			
	at home			
	with your family			
	at the shop			
	at the clinic			
	at church			
	at the council			
	with visitors			
	in town			
	elsewhere (please specify)			

2(a) **Where did you learn to speak English?**

	at home
	at school
	both
	other (please specify)

2(b) **Where did you learn to read English?**

	at home
	at school
	both
	other (please specify)

2(c) **Where did you learn to write English?**

	at home
	at school
	both
	other (please specify)

2(d) **Where did you learn to read Warlpiri?**

	at home
	at school
	both
	other (please specify)

2(e) **Where did you learn to write Warlpiri?**

	at home
	at school
	both
	other (please specify)

3(a) **Do you think that it is important to be able to speak Warlpiri?** yes/no
Why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

3(b) **Do you think that it is important to be able to speak English?** yes/no
Why?

_____

_____

_____

_____

3(c) Do you think that it is important to be able to read Warlpiri? yes/no
Why?

3(d) Do you think that it is important to be able to read English? yes/no
Why?

3(e) Do you think that it is important to be able to write in Warlpiri? yes/no
Why?

3(f) Do you think that it is important to be able to write in English? yes/no
Why?

3(g) Do you think that knowing English will help you to get:

	a good education
	a job
	a better understanding of kardiya ways
	other (please specify)

3(h) Do you think that knowing Warlpiri will help you to get:

	a good education
	a job
	a better understanding of yapa ways
	other (eg. for continuing your culture)

4(a) Do the little kids speak Warlpiri the same way that you do? yes/no
If no, can you think of any examples?

4(b) Do they use different words? yes/no
If yes, can you think of any examples?

4(c) **Do Elders speak Warlpiri the same way that you do?** yes/no
If no, can you think of any examples?

_____
_____
_____

4(d) **Do they use different words?** yes/no
If yes, can you think of any examples?

_____
_____
_____

4(e) **Do you use any English words when speaking Warlpiri?** yes/no
If yes, can you think of any examples?

_____
_____
_____

4(f) **Do you use any Warlpiri words when speaking English?** yes/no
If yes, can you think of any examples?

_____
_____
_____

5(a) **Do you watch TV?** yes/no

5(b) **Do you listen to the radio?** yes/no

5(c) **Do you listen to music cassettes?** yes/no
If yes, what sort of music do you listen to?

	yapa bands
	kardiya bands
	both
	other

5(d) **What do you read and in which language?**

	Warlpiri	English
books		
magazines		
comics		
song lyrics		
other (please specify)		

5(e) If you want to send a message or talk to someone in Yuendumu what do you do and in which language?

		Warlpiri	English
	go to see them		
	ring them up		
	write a letter		
	other (eg. get someone to pass the message on)		

5(f) If you want to send a message or talk to someone in Alice Springs what do you do and in which language?

		Warlpiri	English
	go to see them		
	ring them up		
	write a letter		
	other (please specify)		

5(e) If you want to send a message or talk to someone far from Yuendumu (e.g. Adelaide) what do you do and in which language?

		Warlpiri	English
	go to see them		
	ring them up		
	write a letter		
	other (please specify)		

5(f) Which language do you think in? _____

Further comments:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Thank you again for your help with this survey.
S. Schwarz
12 March 1997

WARLPIRI LANGUAGE SURVEY

Information gained from this survey will be used to assist my research into the Warlpiri language. Please answer all questions as accurately as you are able and feel free to add any extra comments. Thank you for your time and help.
S.Schwarz.

Section I	**sentences for translation: Warlpiri into English**
Section II	**sentences for translation: English into Warlpiri**
Section III	**pictures: requiring captions in Warlpiri**

What is your age group? 10-15 / 16-20 / 21-25 / 26-40 / 40+

Are you from Yuendumu? yes/no

If no, where are you from? _____

Is Warlpiri your first language? yes/no

I Warlpiri to English

1. Kurdungku ka ngapa ngarni.

2. Karli ka watingki kijirni

3. Malikirli ka nantuwu nyanyi

4. Nantuwu ka malikirli nyanyi.

5. Kurdu ka nyanyi karntangku

6. Karnta ka nyanyi kurdungku.

7. Kurdungku ka karnta nyanyi.

8. Karnta kangali(ngki) ngaliki wangkami.

9. Ngaliki kangali(ngki) karnta wangkami.

10. Kapardi karla kurduku wangkami.

11. Kurduku karla kapardi wangkami.

12. Kurdu karla pardarni karntaku.

13. Kurduku karla pardarni karnta.

14. Karnta kangku nyuntuku pardarni.

15. Nyuntu kanparla pardarni.

II English to Warlpiri

1. The woman is speaking to the child.

2. The child is speaking to the woman.

3. The woman is speaking to you.

4. You are speaking to her.

5. You are speaking to me.

6. The child is waiting for the man.

7. The man is waiting for the child.

8. I am waiting for you.

9. You are waiting for me.

10. The horse sees the dog.

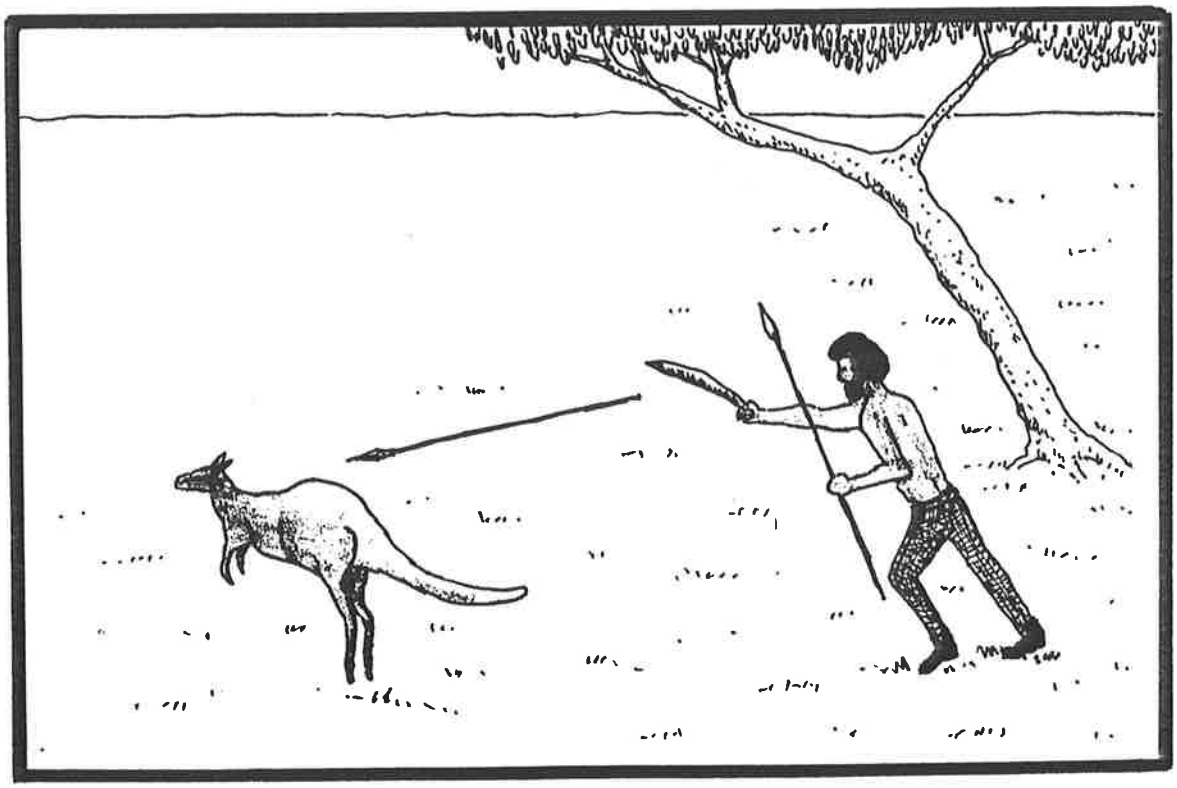
11. The dog sees the horse.

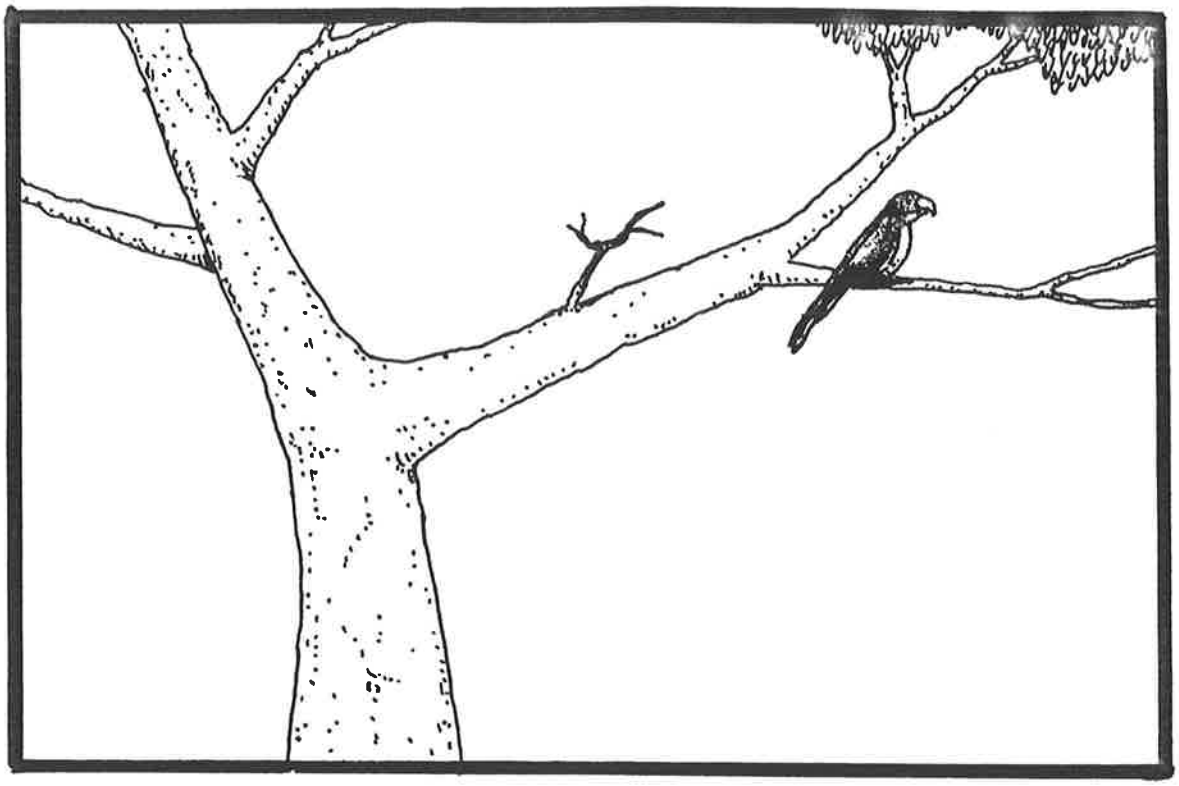
12. The dog is biting the snake.

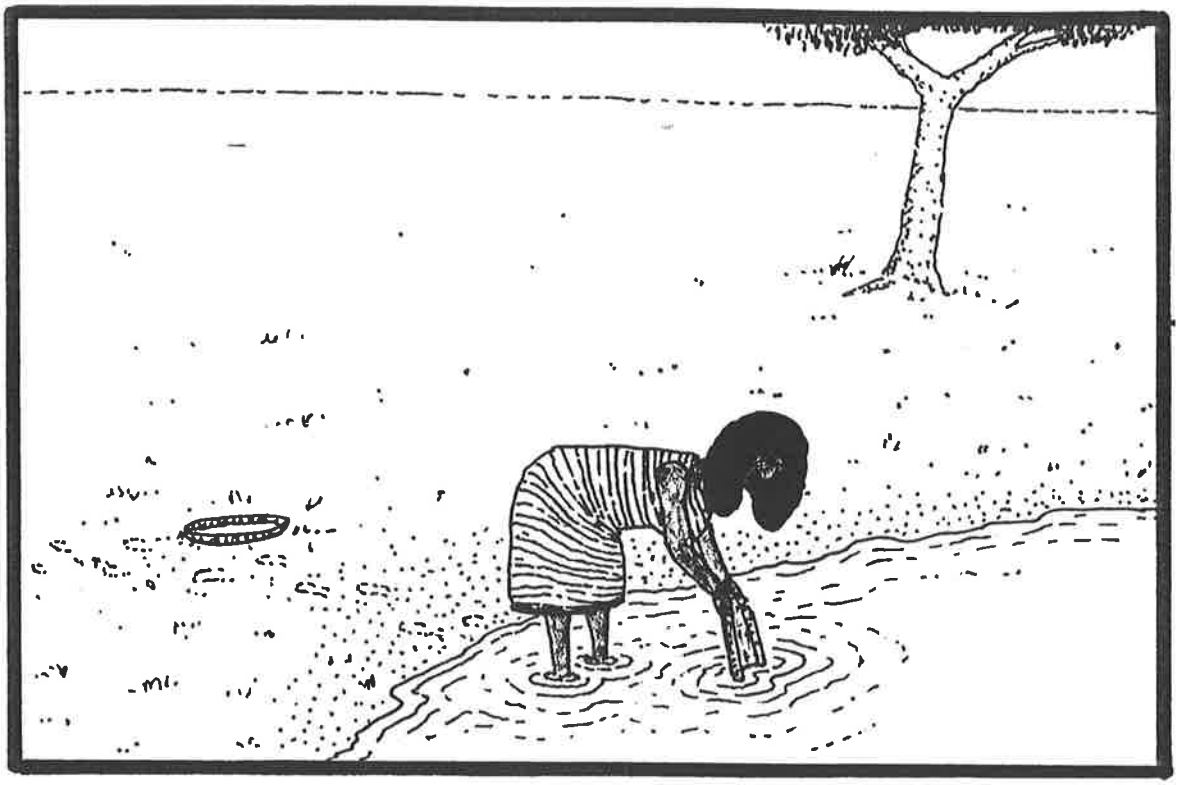
13. The snake is biting the dog.

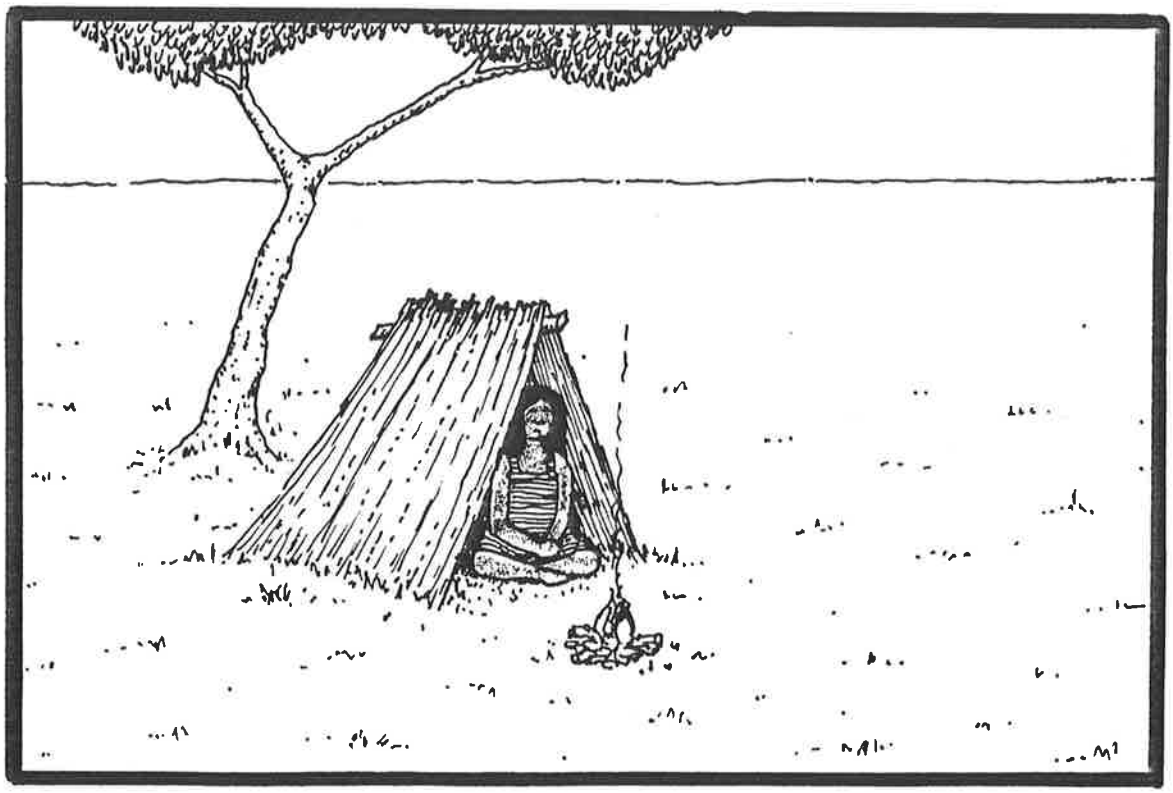
14. The man is throwing the boomerang.

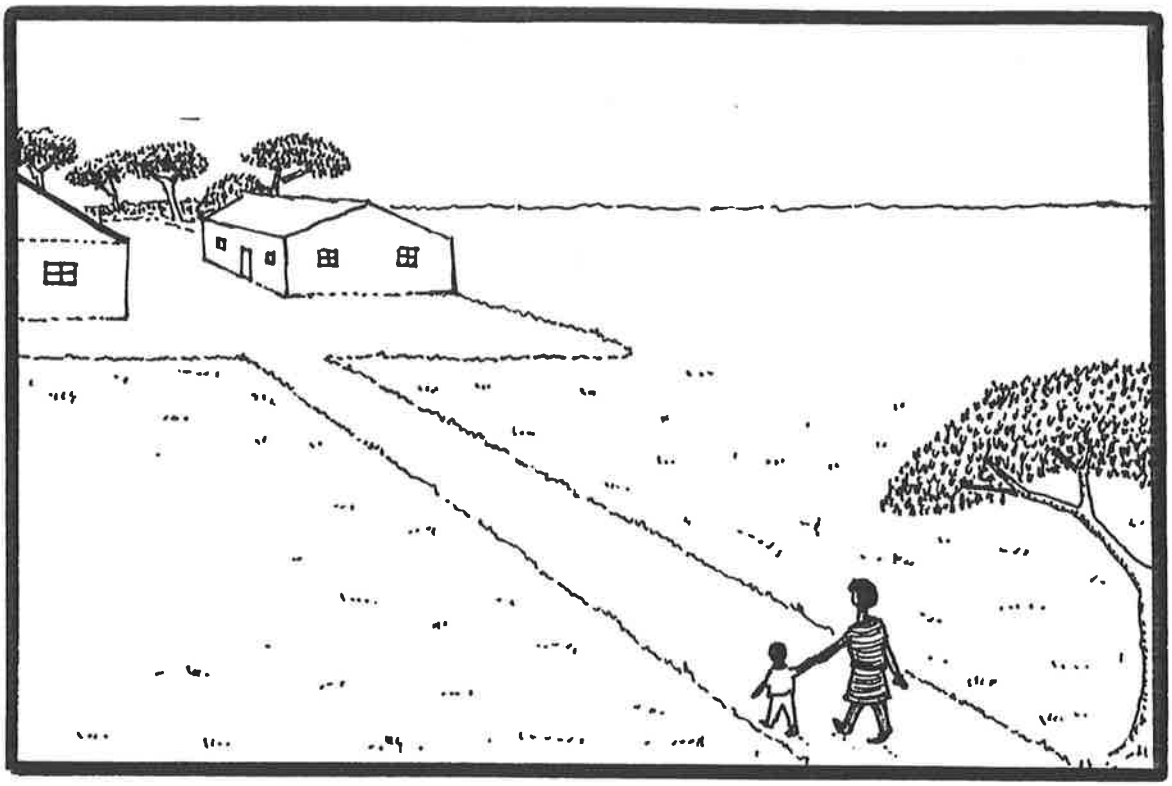
15. The boomerang is being thrown by the man.

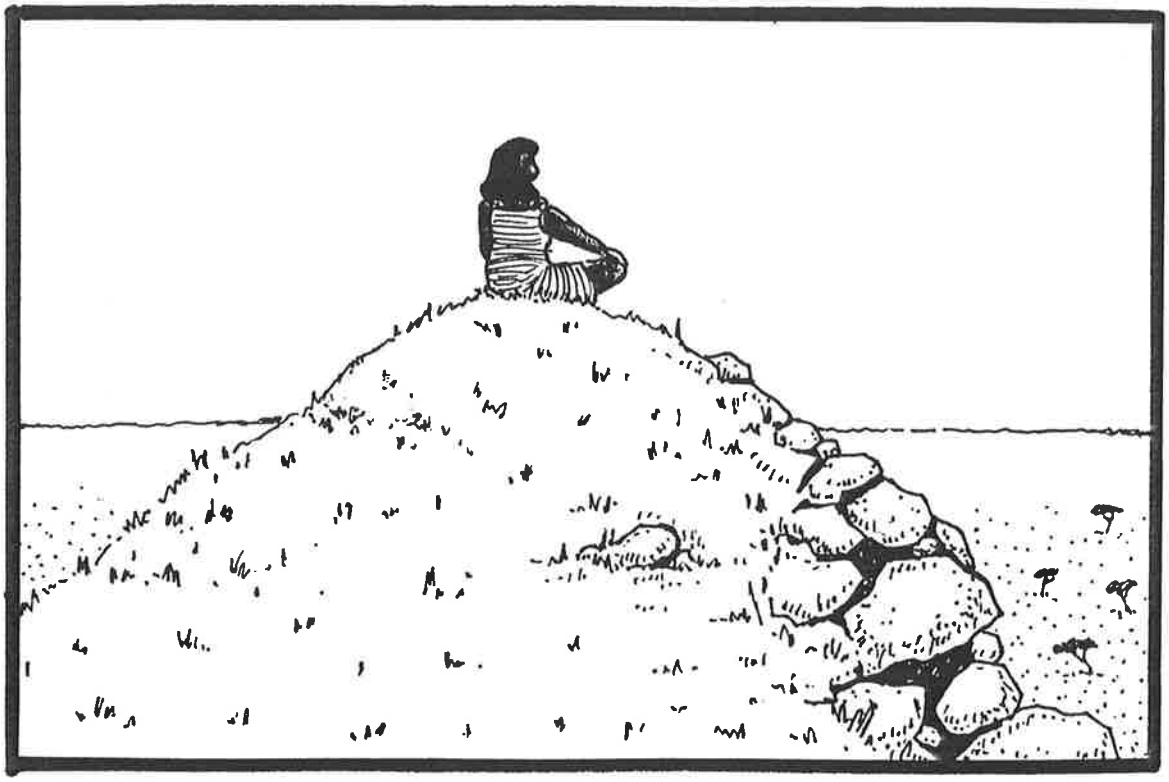




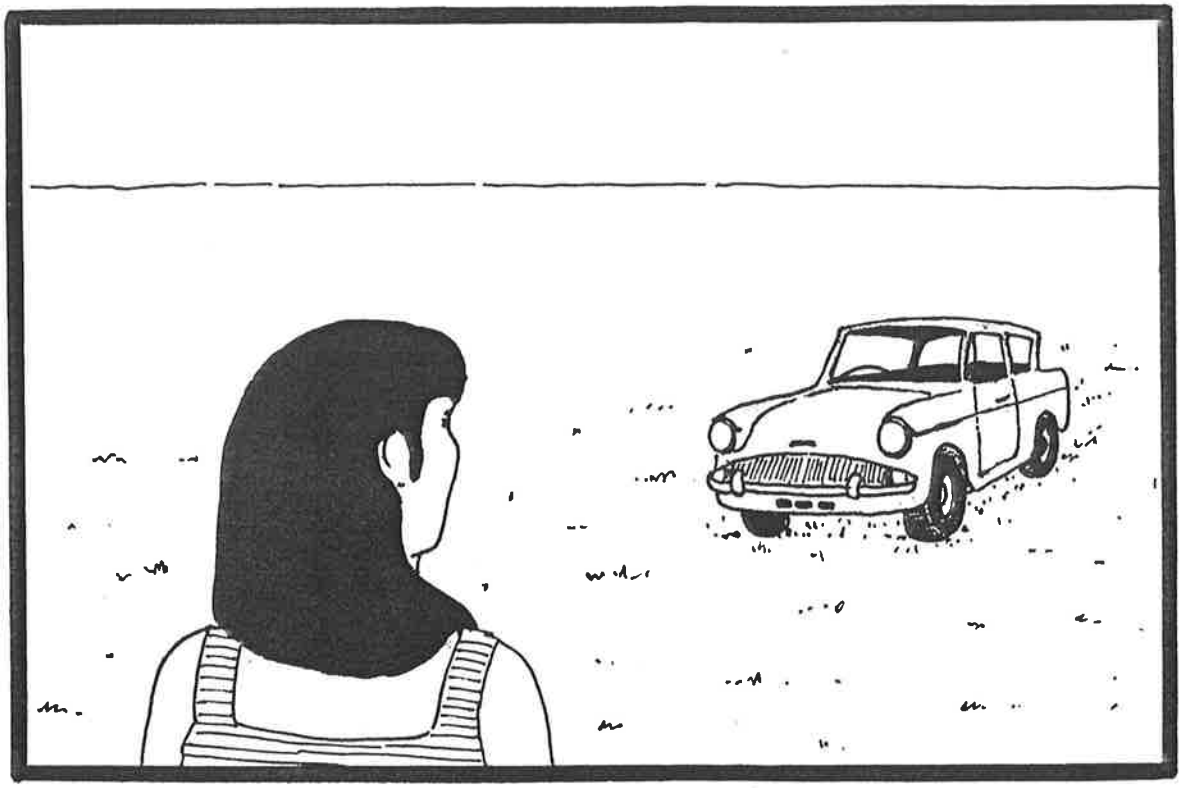









AUT INVENIAM VIAM AUT FACIAM.
AUT AMAT AUT ODIT MULIER, NIHIL EST TERTIUM.
QUID HOC SIBI VULT?
PULVIS ET UMBRA SUMUS



Appendix II Abbreviations

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
sg.	singular
pl.	plural
incl.	inclusive
excl.	exclusive
S/subj.	subject
V	verb
O/obj.	object
N	noun
A/adj.	adjective
G/gen.	genitive
decl.	declension
cons.	consonant
Po	postposition
Pr	preposition
trans.	transitive
intrans.	intransitive
dir.	direct
indir.	indirect
nom.	nominative
voc.	vocative
acc.	accusative
dat.	dative
abl.	ablative
erg.	ergative
abs.	absolutive
ø	phonetically null

f.	feminine
m.	masculine
n.	neuter
mod.	modifier
neg.	negator
aux.	auxiliary
top.	topic
pron.	pronoun
comp.	complementiser
dem.	demonstrative
sub-ord.	subordinate-clause
fut.	future tense
pres.	present tense
imp.	imperfect tense
pt.	perfect tense
ppl.	past participle
pass.	passive
act.	active
inf.	infinitive
TL	target language
VP	verb phrase
NP	noun phrase
LS	logical structure
PS	phrase structure
NSP	natural serialisation principle
PCCH	principle of cross-category harmony

Appendix III **Selected Place Names & Language Names**

Place Name	Also known as	Place Name in Warlpiri
Ali Curung	Alekarenge	Warlaku
Alice Springs		Yalijipiringi
Mt Allen		Wariyiwariyi
Lajamanu	Hooker Creek	
Mt Liebig		Yamurnturrngu
Nyirripi	Nyirripi	
Papunya	Papanya	Pupanyi
Willowra		Wirliyajarrayi
Yuendumu		Yurntumu

Language Name	Also known as	Language Name in Warlpiri
Anmatyerre	Anmatjera/Anmatyerr	Yanmajari
Arrernte	Aranda	
Kuurrinji	Gurindji	
Pintupi	Pintubi/Bindubi	
Warumungu	Warramunga	
Warlmanpa	Warlmanba	
Warlpiri	Walbri	

Natalie Egan, left, Sherena Williams, Selissa Rubuntja and Linda Wilson . . . 'we don't want to go because the white kids tease us' — Picture: VERI

Young Aborigines on a bilingual literacy detour

Re Australian
1/4/97 p8

Young Aborigines on a bilingual literacy detour

The Australian 1/4/97 p8

By MARIA CERESA

FOR Sherena Williams, whose first language is central desert Aboriginal Warlpiri, her efforts to read aloud in English were greeted with unkind laughter from peers.

In the playground, that jeering translated to a hatred of school and left 13-year-old Sherena feeling disaffected and without basic education.

"We don't want to go because the white kids tease us," she said.

In a bid to give Aboriginal children literacy skills and arrest growing problems of juvenile delinquency in Alice Springs, the Tangentyere Council, an Aboriginal association, initiated the Detour Program. Now, surrounded by children chattering alternatively in English, Warlpiri and Arrernte, Sherena confidently reads from a book of student profiles.

The brainchild of the council's manager of community development, Mr Michael Bowden, the Detour Program children are picked up by bus in the morning from their town camps, driven to a converted farmhouse/classroom and fed a nutritious breakfast.

"It's not just education but whole lives that must be addressed to get Aboriginal kids off the streets and back to school," he said. "In terms of reconciliation it helps."

"Aboriginal kids get an enormous amount of criticism around town with people saying 'look at those kids, why aren't they in school like white kids?' and that forms the basis for a prejudice," Mr Bowden said.

A parliamentary report tabled in the Northern Territory Legislative Assembly last year revealed the maths and English levels of Aboriginal students lagged eight years behind urban-educated counterparts.

With heightened tensions resulting from a native title claim over the town of Alice Springs and growing concern over increased vandalism and offensive behaviour from young offenders, the program is a positive step towards delivering a disadvantaged group educational services in a culturally aware way.

Jointly funded by the council, various federal government departments, and the Northern Territory Government through Centralian College, the program started on January 27 this year and has a core of 28 children between the ages of 10 and 18 years.

The director of Centralian College, Mr Colin Hodges, said the program approaches English not only as a second language but a second culture.

"It attracts these students back into mainstream education by providing an alternative," he said.

"Where they come up against a barrier, we provide a detour so they can go around the normal processes but end up going the same way."

(page 2 of 2)

The Australian 11/12/98 p3

Language cuts 'break UN law'

MARIA CERESA

ABOLITION of bilingual teaching programs in Aboriginal community schools has left the Northern Territory Government accused of breaching international law.

Condemnation came as John Howard moved a bipartisan motion reaffirming Australia's commitment to the declaration of the UN human rights convention to celebrate its 50th anniversary.

Northern Territory Education Minister Peter Adamson yesterday defended the decision to shift $3 million in funding for 22 bilingual programs to a Territory-wide scheme teaching English as a second language.

But UN agreements protect people's right to be educated in their own language, according to former Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander social justice commissioner Mick Dodson, University of NSW international law lecturer Sarah Pritchard and National Indigenous Working Group spokeswoman Olga Haven. Mr Dodson said the move was a breach of article 27 of the international covenant of civil and political rights and article 15 of the convention on the rights of the child.

"It is outrageous. It is a breach of both of these conventions that Australia is signed up to," he said from Geneva yesterday.

Asked if he was concerned about potential breaches to international law, Mr Adamson yesterday said: "No one has contacted us. We are not aware of any."

Asked to intervene by Labor member for the Northern Territory Warren Snowdon, federal Education Minister David Kemp yesterday told parliament the introduction of English as a second-language courses for indigenous students by the Commonwealth had been "an exceptionally effective way of addressing the literacy needs".

Meetings protesting against the ministerial directive to axe the bilingual programs were held at schools across the Northern Territory yesterday.

Michael Christie of the faculty of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies at the Northern Territory University warned relationships between communities and the Education Department, vital for retention and attendance rates, had been damaged.

"It shows they don't really have any notion that Australia's first people have a place in our society, whether we like it or not," he said.

Linguist at the north-east Arnhem Land Yirrkala school and fellow at the NTU, Raymattja Marika, yesterday called on Mr Adamson to reverse his decision of "oppression".

Ms Marika said Yirrkala had a bilingual program in place and had achieved improvements in English outcomes.

"It's a direct attack on our rights to teach, and for our children to learn, both languages," she said.

In the rights spotlight — Page 5

The Australian Friday 1 Jan '99, p13

Cruel blow to bilingual education

CHRISTINE NICHOLLS

All Australians must fight this linguistic genocide

SADLY, for indigenous people and non-indigenous people such as myself who have worked for many years to establish and maintain bilingual education programs, the Northern Territory Government's plan to scrap them comes as no surprise.

Bilingual education has been under almost constant attack since its introduction by the Whitlam government in 1973. It is difficult to interpret the Northern Territory decision, which is endorsed by federal Education Minister David Kemp, as anything but a direct attack on the relatively few remaining strong Aboriginal languages.

Northern Territory primary schools offer 21 bilingual education programs, in which 17 indigenous languages are taught alongside instruction in English. Bilingual education programs were introduced in the first place largely because English-only programs in Aboriginal schools failed to come up with the educational goods.

Only an elite minority of people learned to read and write under the old regime. Many contemporary advocates of English-only education conveniently seem to have forgotten this.

For almost a decade, I lived and worked with Warlpiri people at Lajamanu, a settlement in the Tanami Desert of the Northern Territory. Together we worked in the school to establish a successful bilingual education program using the local vernacular Warlpiri and English.

The Lajamanu community, under the leadership of two visionary leaders, the late Maurice Luther Jupurrurla and the late Paddy Patrick Jangala, had lobbied the Northern Terrritory government for 10 years before the school was afforded official recognition as a bilingual school.

Most older Warlpiri recollect English being imposed on them by force. As late as the mid-1970s, if Warlpiri people spoke their language within the hearing of the settlement supervisor or within the confines of the schoolyard, they would be punished. During those "native welfare" days, a barbed-wire fence was erected around Lajamanu school to keep the kids in and the adults out, a powerful symbol of the alienation of the school from the community.

(page 1 of 2)

The Australian 1/1/99 p13

Cruel blow to bilingual education (cont.)

In 1989, the school topped all government Aboriginal schools in the Northern Territory education department's own externally administered, moderated, testing programs in English. Internal tests also showed a steady improvement in academic achievement through the years, although the education department refused to accept the validity of this. Nonetheless, it is true that, even in bilingual schools, academic results are well below those of non-indigenous students. This is the result of a complex mosaic of interacting factors, not least of which are indigenous poverty and poor health.

Bilingual education is not a cure-all. In terms of my experience, the key argument for their continuation is not academic, at least not at this point in history.

Aboriginal-controlled bilingual programs give Aboriginal parents and extended families a place in their children's education. They put Aboriginal teachers into Aboriginal classrooms as real teachers; assist the Aboriginalisation of schools, thereby acting as circuit-breakers to continuing welfare dependence; improve relations between community members and schools; increase school attendance; legitimise and strengthen the minority language and so raise the self-esteem of both adults and children.

The decision to scrap the bilingual education programs represents a return to White Australia. It predates even the 1950s Frankenstein-type dream of assimilation for indigenous Australians and migrants.

As early as 1835, the governor of South Australia made a speech to the Kaurna Aboriginal people of the Adelaide plains, in which he exhorted "the natives" to drop their languages in favour of English.

"Black man, we wish to make you happy," he was reported as saying. "But you can not be happy unless you imitate white man. Build huts, wear clothes, be useful, have God, love white men . . . and learn to speak *English*!"

The last fluent speaker of Kaurna, Ivaritji, died in 1929. More than three-quarters of Australia's 250 indigenous languages have already been extinguished by processes of colonisation.

This is not only a loss for all Australians but for the world's linguistic heritage. These languages need to be regarded as living national treasures. History will repeat itself if there is not immediate, strong and meaningful intervention.

It is clear from the outrage being expressed in parts of remote Aboriginal Australia, where some communities are threatening to pull their children out of school this year, that the Northern Territory Government's decision is not "making them happy" in the least.

The bilingual programs must be maintained and given a fair go with adequate funding. If the Australian Government can fund bilingual education programs in the Pacific, it can do so at home.

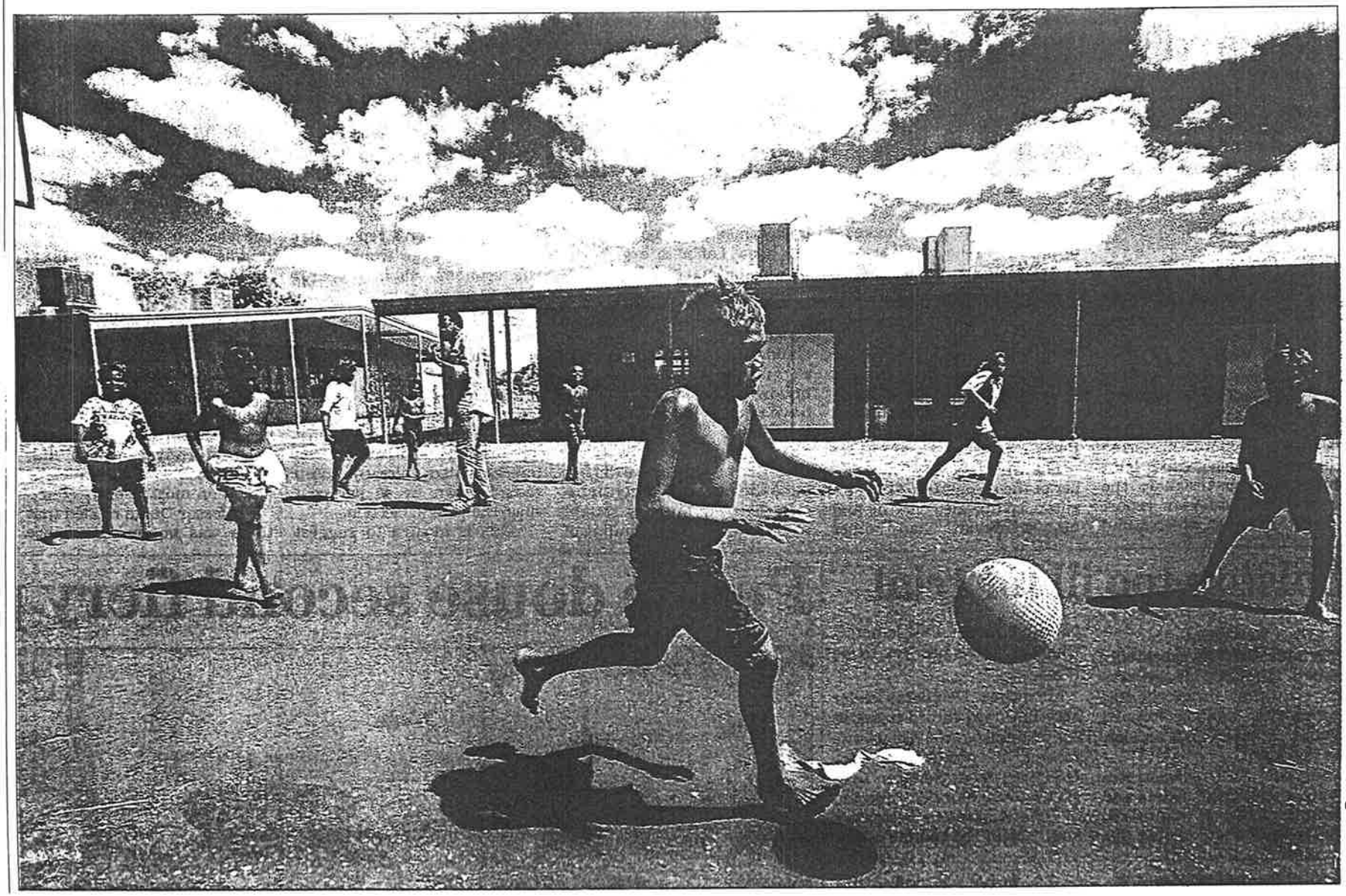
It appears that, in terms of linguistic genocide, on the home front the Northern Territory Government, in collusion with the Howard Government, is quite happily presiding over the "final solution".

Dr Christine Nicholls is a senior lecturer in Australian studies at Flinders University, South Australia. Previously, she was principal education officer, bilingual education (Aboriginal languages) in the Northern Territory Department of Education.

(page 2 of 2)

The Australian, Tues, Feb 16, 1999
P1

War of words: speaking up for a culture



(page 1 of 2)

The Australian 16/2/99 p1

War of words: speaking up for a culture (cont.)

Fighting to save bilingual classes: Northern Territory Yuendumu community teacher Mr Egan with his students

Picture: BRETT FAULKNER

MARIA CERESA

BAREFOOTED Aboriginal kids and a camp dog are running at a break-neck speed on a red dirt basketball court in 40C heat.

It is sports afternoon in the remote Aboriginal community of Yuendumu, about 250km north-west of Alice Springs.

"Ngajuku, ngajuku (for me, for me)," calls one boy. But when pushed out of the way so he can no longer make the basket he yells: "Jiti manu paju (You cheated me)."

Teacher and umpire Anthony Egan steps in to rule on the dispute in his own Aboriginal language of Warlpiri. The aggrieved changes to English and says: "That's not fair."

It is a sentiment shared by the Warlpiri elders of Yuendumu, whose anger over the Northern Territory Government's decision to axe a unique bilingual teaching method has left them threatening to take their children out of the 160-student school.

Northern Territory Education Minister Peter Adamson yesterday accused parents threatening to boycott schools of "punishing" their children.

Mr Adamson questioned the sincerity of the threat and said the department would spend

three months consulting with remote communities about phasing out the $3.7 million bilingual programs. Outraged elders of the 17 communities claim it's their heritage that is being punished and all they want to is for their children to be literate in both languages.

The Yuendumu elders measure the success of the 24-year-old bilingual method by the fact that five of the nine teachers at Yuendumu are Aboriginal community members, educated under the bilingual system, before gaining teacher qualifications.

Mr Adamson said Aboriginal languages would still be taught in school, but the bilingual methods would be replaced with English-as-a-second-language programs.

He said the decision to axe the bilingual program was due to concern over the poor literacy levels of students in the Northern Territory.

Mr Adamson said he had received only 30 letters of protest posted from the Northern Territory and the decision was supported by the majority of the Territory's 96 government schools. Labor education spokesman and former Yuendumu school principal Peter Toyne, who has completed a whirlwind tour of affected schools, said opposition and anger among remote communities was widespread.

Nicholson's View — Page 12

(page 2 of 2)

The Australian, Tues. 16th Feb 1999 p 12

Letters to the Editor, The Australian, Monday 11/1/99 p 10

When languages are suppressed

CHRISTINE Nicholls has made a cogent case for bilingual school programs in those Northern Territory communities that want them (Cruel Blow to Bilingual Education, Opinion, 1/1).

During the late 1950s through to the early 1960s, as headmaster of government schools on two Aboriginal missions in Western Australia, the question of Aboriginal identity loomed large in my mind. In one school children were mostly from all over the State and many were "separated" from their parents. These children were in a mess. Confused shards of culture, sometimes fragments of several indigenous languages, often no family nearby and no love in a strangely hostile environment.

Later, ignorant of their family background, some married their own sister or brother. Clearly, in this unmanageable and traumatic diversity English has to be and was the lingua franca.

In the second school, all children had an Aboriginal language as their first language, some ability in at least one other Aboriginal language and some or no English. Despite the divisive dormitory environment, there was a vibrant desert culture, language skills were passed on and the social environment was stable. The children were confident in their identity and eager to learn. This was a community where the cultural identity could be acknowledged and protected.

With the community's enthusiastic approval, we began, not only as a matter of common sense but also as a duty, to use as much of the local language as possible in a simple kind of "bilingual" program. For the first time in the school's history, parents said, they felt welcome at the school and thus became involved.

Before long, the staff were summoned by the "superintendent of native education". We made a long, rough 3000km round trip, only to be told to cease our "bilingual" efforts or face dismissal. Significantly, that dirty word "assimilation" was used. Undaunted, we visited our neighbours, the Ernabella Community in north-eastern Australia, and their "real" bilingual program, then the only one in the land. It was most impressive, providing us with renewed confidence and resolve. This was 1963.

It is an internationally recognised and ratified human right that people can speak their language freely, that they are educated in their own language and that their language is protected as part of their culture. Recognising this, and following the Dunstan government's milestone 1966 land rights legislation, the Whitlam government's broad-sweep policies heralded a sea-change in Aboriginal affairs, including bilingual education.

The central notion of "self-determination", a key concept in the United Nations Covenant since 1948, was finally introduced to Australian politics. The Woodward commission recommended Aboriginal land rights legislation. The Schools Commission was set up and funded an Aboriginal education consultative group (known as Feppi in the Territory) in every State. For the first time, indigenous people were actually going to be asked for their views. Australia was coming of age.

Then, 26 years after the breakthrough, an inexperienced Territory Minister for Education declared his decision to scrap all such programs.

MARK DE GRAAF
Brinkin, NT

174

Booze ad ban and bankruptcy can't stop Aboriginal TV

By ERROL SIMPER

YOU might not have bet heavily on the future of a commercial television station that doesn't accept alcohol advertising, has only 190,000 potential viewers and which has the relatively unpronounceable "Riterrke Atnyenetyeke" as the station theme.

Throw in some initial commercial and community scepticism, even hostility, and — back in January 1988, when it all began — you'd have kept your money in your pocket. Certainly, you might have had doubts over whether it would live to see its 10th birthday.

A decade on and the Alice Springs-based Imparja Television, the first Aboriginal-controlled and owned television service in Australia, is still there. Riterrke Atnyenetyeke means "keeping strong" in Arrernte and Imparja's chief executive, Corallie Ferguson, says the station is becoming very strong indeed.

"There's a great deal of positive things to say about us now," says Ferguson. "We have an Aboriginalisation policy, for example, which has resulted in 50 per cent of our staff being indigenous. So we're building a base of Aboriginals with the same media talents and skills as at any other station.

"This in turn is an encouragement for indigenous programmakers. There's a marrying of cultures too, because, in order for us to be commercially successful, we must also cater for mainstream European Australia."

Imparja's remote zone satellite footprint covers all the Northern Territory except Darwin, South Australia except Adelaide and remote parts of Victoria and NSW. Broadcasting largely to pastoral and mining communities, Imparja was begun by the Central Australian Aboriginal Media Association with federal government funding assistance, presently about $2 million a year.

In terms of audience share, Imparja — strongly supported by the Aboriginal And Torres Strait Islander Commission — does extremely well. It's one of a handful of stations still able to take its pick of the most popular programming from the three free-to-air commercial networks. Thus, 10-15 per cent indigenous programming is mingled with, for example, Seven's Blue Heelers and Nine's 60 Minutes. Its news service uses Nine as its base but cuts in local stories according to priority and importance.

Imparja has not been without its dramas. The station has almost gone bankrupt, there have been policy disagreements aplenty and — intermittently — high staff turnovers. But chairwoman Pat Miller says the scraps were all worth it.

"Imparja's 10th anniversary is a tribute to the foresight and resolve of the station's founders and the Aboriginal community in the central zone," Mrs Miller says.

The non-acceptance of alcohol advertising has been a feature of Imparja for nine of its 10 years. It's a difficult issue. For some, the ban is patronising. For others, alcohol commercials would simply exacerbate a problem perceived as most obvious among indigenous peoples.

"It (no alcohol) has become part of our philosophy," says Ms Ferguson. "It remains open for review and debate at board level. But, at this stage, we think the benefits of not running such advertising outweigh the benefits of running it."

Well, be it champagne or orange juice: cheers. Many happy returns.

AUSTRALIAN 20/01/98 p2

Appendix VI **Examples of Warlpiri Language in *Junga Yimi***

A Yuendumu community magazine published by the Bilingual Resources Development Unit at the Yuendumu Community Education Centre.

Kuja-rnalu yanu Africa-kurra

Kay Ross-kurlangu yimi.

Nganimpa-rnalu yanu Yurntumu ngurlu puratiyirla 13/3/98 Alice Springs-kirra. Ngunaja-rnalu Jock Morse-kurlangurla wurnaku-ngarntiji. Jarrirtiyirlalku yanu-rnalu pinta-pintalalku Sydney kirra. Ngunaja-rnalu ngurraku jintaku.

Ngulajangkaju wiri-jarlu Pinta-pintarlalku-rnalu warrkarnu-yarda. Nyinajanja-yanurnalu tarnnga-juku (6 hours). Yukajarra-narlu mungangka Singapore-kurraju Australia-jangkaju. Ngulajangka jinta-karirlalku-rnalu yarda warrkarnu wirijarlu-nyayirnirlalku Paris-kirralku, ngulaju (16 hours) tarnnga-juku mungangka-juku.

Rangkarrkurlu-rnalu yukajarra Paris-kirraju. Ngunaja-rnalu ngurra jirramaku nyanungurlaju. Nyangu-rnalu Eiffel Tower manu kuja wantija Princess Diana car-kurlu. Ngulajangka yanu-rnalu Arnaud Jakamarra-kurlangu Art Gallery kirra, ngajarra-nyangu kuruwarri-kirli kirra. Ngulajangka yanu-rnalu Paris Airport-kurra. Ngulajangkaju-rnalu warrkarnu Pinta-pinta jinta-kari-kirralku. Africa-ku ngarntilki ngulaju (6 hrs)-jarla yuka-jarra-rnalu wuuly-wuulypa Niamey-kirralku.

Mungalyurru-karirlki yanu-rnalu pinta-pinta witangkalku jurdu-puru nyanja-wangu Mararadi-kirra, yapa-wati kuja kalu kirringka nyinami-kirra. Wapirdi-karrijalu nganpa yapa panu-nyayirni. Maninjarla, kangulu-nganpa ngurra-kurra mission-kirra (S.I.M.). Kangulu nganpa nyanjaku nguruku. Kanjanulpa nganpa watingki yirdingki Jaho-rlu nyanungu-nyangu turaki-kirlirli. Karntaju Nigeria-wardingki manu kardiya-yirdi-jarraju Dudu manu Kari nganpa yirrkinpa yanu. Wangkajalpalu nganpa yapa-patu-kuju nyanungu-nyangu yimi, (Housa).

Kangulu-nganpa ngurra jirrama-kurra. Ngurlu-jana milki-yurrparnu kuja-karnalu yurrparni Aus-

tralia-rla. Nyangu-rnalu jana kuja kalu jinta-mani ngurlu kalkardi manu pirlawu. Mangarri-pinki kalu ngurrju-mani nyanungu-jangkaju. Jinta-kari ngurrangkalu yunparnu manu wirntija, wati-patu-wiyi, ngulajangkaju karnta-patulku.

Marna-wangu lawa-ka karrimi Niger-rlaju manu ngapaju kalu ngarni kanunju wili-jangka. Jurrungka kalu kanyi ngurra-kurraju. Kurdu-kurdu-rlangu kalu warrki-jarrimi yinyarlaju ngurrangka manu kirri wiringka. Kurdu-wita witaju kalu jana kanjani purturlurla, warirni kalu-nyanu rayiki-kirlirli.

Ngurrju-nyayirni kuja-rnalu yanu wurna Africa-kurraju nyurnu-wangu manu yirraru-wangu. *Ngulajuku..Kay Ross-kurlangu yimi.*

Introduction

This year during Country visits we went to Wayililinypa, Jila, Yarripirlangu, Yinjirimardi, Juurlpungu and Mala. Most people who live at Yuendumu went to one of these outstations for a week. There were lots of traditional activities during the Country visits week. There was dancing, hunting, story telling, body painting, singing, and visits to special places.

Before we left Yuendumu in the truck and buses all the children were excited about camping out in their Country. The adults were happy too because they really like to visit their Country and teach children about traditional ways and Jukurrpa.

On Saturday the teachers took lots of food to the outstation in boxes and eskies. On Sunday we used three buses and the big Council truck to take people out to the six outstations.

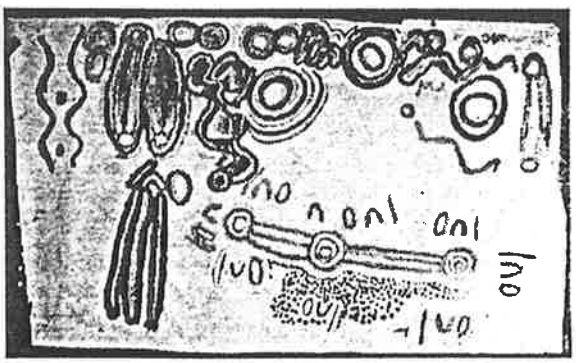
From the beginning we had problems with water. At Mala the solar pump didn't turn on. At Jila the windmill had been wound in and at Juurlpungu and Yinjirimardi the windmills were not pumping at all! We had to drive around with a water tank on a trailer to make sure everyone had enough water. At Juurlpungu we were lucky because the ladies dug a big soak in the creek. They got good soak water.

This year some children from Nyirrpi and Willowra joined in our Country visits. Next year we hope that Lajamanu can also be involved. Lajamanu had a small Country visits of their own late in September. They visited one outstation south of Lajamanu. This year we also had a visit from some Aboriginal student teachers from North Queensland communities. They wanted to see how we ran Country visits and how the old people got involved in education out bush. The students and their supervisor really enjoyed their time here.

A few years ago the school and school council decided to keep the Country visits groups going for one week after returning to school. This meant that older people and parents could come to the class-rooms and teach family groups. In the past these groups have made really good stories, drawings and finished off with dancing and body painting their Jukurrpa.

Sadly this year we had a lot of sorry business in the follow up week and not many adults could come to the school to teach the children. What follows in this issue of Junga Yimi are some stories and pictures from the follow up week and some photos taken during the first week of Country visits.

Thank you to everyone who helped this year with Country visits, including those adults who stayed out bush all week and taught the children about their Country. Also thanks to the sponsors - The Social Club, School Council, ASSPA, Yuendumu Council, Clinic and the Department of Education.



Junga Yimi
Issue number 2, 1998

Ngurrara visit-kirli

Nyampurla year-ngka 1998-rla ngurrara-nyanu-kurra-rnalu yanu ngulaju Wayililinypa-kurra, Jila-kurra,Yarripilangu-kurra, Yinjirimardi-kirra manu Mala-kurra manu Juurlpungu-kurra. Yapa-patu kuja-kalu nyampurla Yurntumurla nyina ngulajurlu yanu muku nguarrara nyanu-kurra jintaku wiyikiki. Yalirla panu nyayirnirli-lpalu kujurnu kuruwarri ngurrararla. Yalirla ngulaju-lpalu wirlinyi yanu, yimi-lpalu-jana ngarrurnu, yawulyu-lpalu-jana, yunparnu-lpalu manurlu yanu nyanjaku yarda-yarda-kurra. Yaninjaku-ngarnti Yurntumu-ngurlu turakirla manu maarntarla panu-jukurlu kurdu-kurduju wardinyi-jarrija muku ngunanjaku ngurrararlaku. Wiri-wirijirli wardinyijarrija yijala nyanjaku ngurrara nyanu-kuju manu yungurlu-jana pina-pina yirrarni nyanungu-nyangu warlalja jukurrpaku. Jarritiyirla tija-paturlurlu kangurlu mangarri manu kuyu ngurrara-wati-kirra pakuju-paturla manu yijikipaturla. Jantiyirlaju nganimparlu-rnalu-jana kangu marnkurrparla maarntarla-paturla manu wirijarlurla council turakirla yapaju jikiji-pala-kurra ngurrara-kurraju.

Kamparruju-lparnalu problem mardanu ngapa-kuju. Malangkaju solar-pump kulalpa warrki-jarrija. Jilangkaju windmill liji ngulajurlu warurnu waya-kurra manu nganayirlaju Juurlpungurla manu Yinjirimardirla windmill-lijilpa warrki-jarrinja-wangu karrija. Nganimpaju-lparnalu warru parnkaja water tank-kirliji jirrnganja trailer-kurluju yapa-kuju-lparnalu-jana warru yungu ngapaju. Juurlpungurlaju ngulaju-rnalu nyanu wardinyi-jarrija ngapa-kuju karru-jangkaku kujarlu karlaja karnta-paturlu. Yaliji ngurrju ngapa-karru-wardingki. Nyampurla year-ngka panu-kariji kurdu-kurdu Nyirrpi manu Willowra-jangka jinta-jarrijarlu nganimpa nyangurla ngurrara visit-rla. Yali-karirla year-ngka ngaliparlu yungurlupa-jana nyanyi Lajamanu-wardingki-patu yaninjarni-kirra ngurrara-kurra nyanjaku. Lajamanu-wardingki-paturlu ngulajurlu yanu wita ngurrara visit nyanungu-nyangu warlalja-kurra September-rlaju. Nyanungurlu-jurlu nyanjanu jinta outstation kurlirra Lajamanurlaju. Nyampurlaju year-ngka nganimparlu-rnalu-jana mardanu visitors yapa-patu Aboriginal Students Teachers Queensland Communites-wardingki-patu. Nyanungu-paturlurlu-jana nyangu nyarrpa kuja karnalu country visit-la nyarrpa-jarri manu nyarrparlu kuja kula-jana purlka-purlka manu muturna-muturna jirrnganja Education-ki yinyarla ngurrararla. Students-paturlu manu nyanungurra-nyangu supervisor-lu ngurrju nyayirnirli wardinyi-jarrija nyampurlaju.

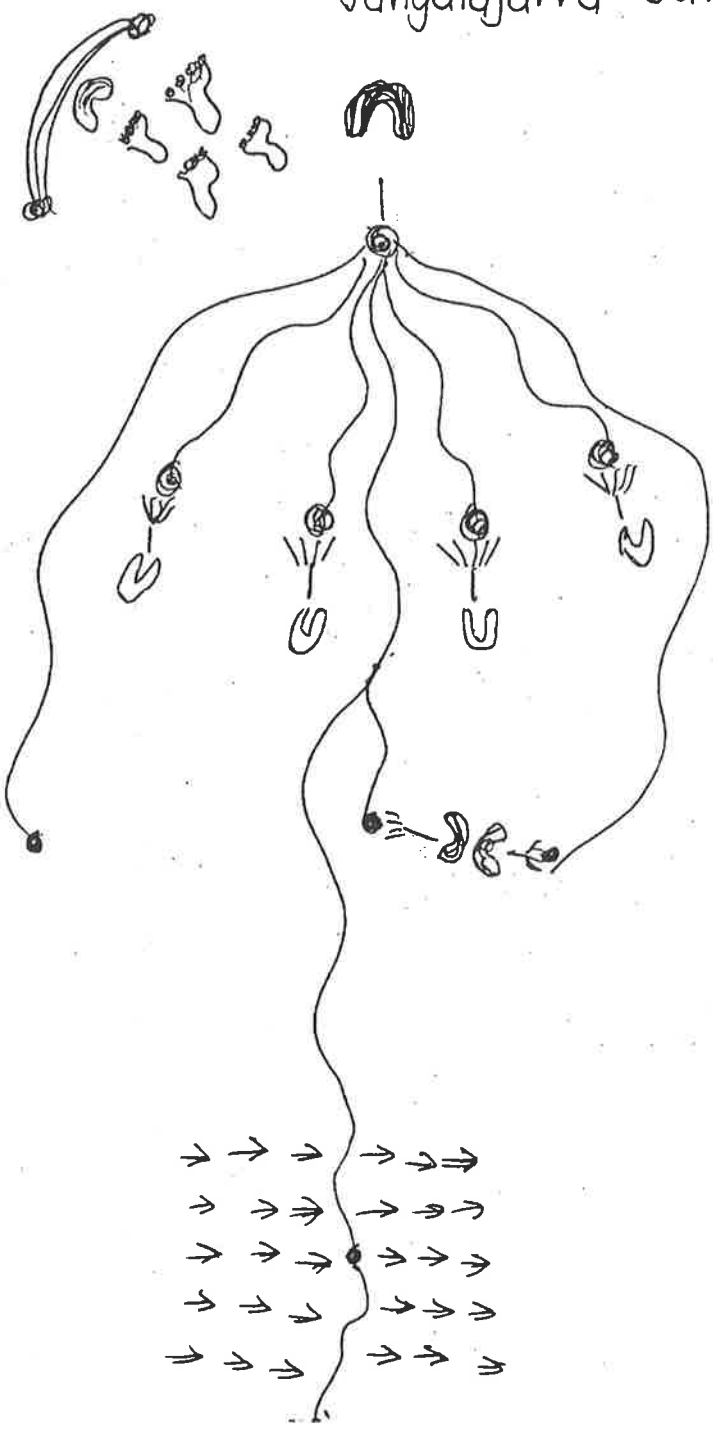
Yinya-patu year-ngka Kuurlu manu Kuurlu Council wardingki-paturlu wangkaja yungurlu tarnnga-juku kuja-juku mardani Country visits jinta wiyikiki jiki ngula-jangka pina yaninjarniki Kuurlu-kurralku. Kuja-jangka yungurlu jarlu-patu manu ngati-nyanu manu jaji-nyanu yanirni Kuurlu-kurra pina-maninjaku nyanungu-nyangu kurdu-kurdu. Nyurruwiyi nyampu-patu group nngurrju-manurlu yimi, kuruwarri manu walku-munulpalu wirntinjarlulku yawulyu jukurrpaju. Nyampurla year-ngka nganimparlu-lparnalu nyinajamala-malarla nyampurlaju follow up wiyikirlaju manu kularlu yantarlirni yapa-patuju panu kuurlu-kurraju pina-maninjaku kurdu-kurdu kuju. Nyiya-jangka karnalu purami nyampurla issue Junga Yimirlaju ngulaju jukurrpa manu kuruwarri yinya-jangka ngurrara visit-jangka kamparru-warnu manu pija-wati pawurtawu kujarlu kangu kamparru wiyiki ngurrara visit-rla.

Thank you wangka karnalu nyarra panuku-juku kujanparlu ngurrju-manu nyampurla year-ngka ngurrara-visit, manu yalumpurraku yapa-patuku kujarlu nyinaja ngurrararla jintaku wiyikiki manurlu-jana pina yirrarnu kurdu-kurdu nyanungurra nyanguku ngurraraku. Also thanks yalumparraku warrkini-patuku kujarlu nganpa tala yungu - Social club-ki - School Council-ku - Asspa-ku - Yuendumu Council-ku - Clinic wardingki-patuku manu Department of Education wardingki-patuku.

Nyampuju Jukurrpa ngulaju ngaju-nyangu.

Yirrakarlu kuruwarri nyampurla

Jangalajarra Jukurrpa



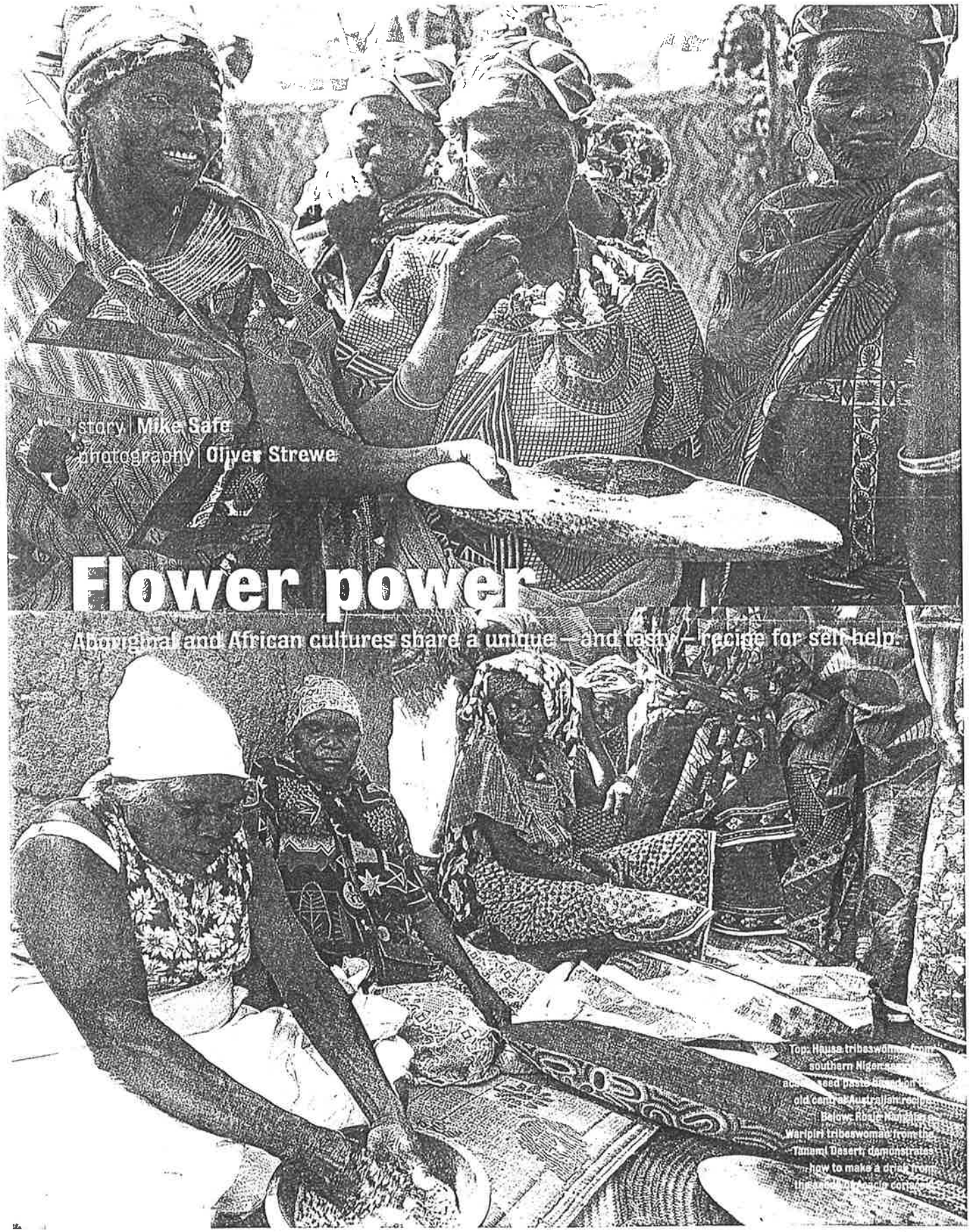
Pauline Nampijinpa Singleton

My own schooling

by Christine Nungarrayi Spencer

When I was going to Yuendumu school, I can remember that they hardly taught us Warlpiri. Just little bit of reading, writing and singing. They didn't have any Warlpiri teachers teaching in classrooms. Nowadays, they have Warlpiri teachers teaching Warlpiri in the classrooms. The kids are now learning more to read and write in their first language. The teachers are doing great jobs in teaching Warlpiri. Let's keep the Warlpiri language strong and in future you could teach your children Warlpiri too.

Nyurruwiyi ngula kalarna ngaju kuurlurla yukaja kula kalalu-nganpa Warlpiri pina manu ngari wita mipa kalalu nganpa pina manu riiti-maninjaku, wangkanjaku manu yurnparninjaku. Tiija yapa patu wangu-wiyi kalalu nganpa mardarnu. Jalangu-jalangu ngulaju panulku tiijangkuju yapa paturluju kalu jana tiiji-mani Warlpiriji manu kalu junga-nyayirni pina-jarrimi. Junga-nyayirnirli pina-jarriya Warlpiriji yungurlipa pirrjirdi-jiki mardarni manu yungunkulu-jana kurdu nyurrurla nyangu pina-mani.



story | Mike Safe
photography | Oliver Strewe

Flower power

Aboriginal and African cultures share a unique – and tasty – recipe for self-help.

Top: Hausa tribeswom... southern Niger... ...seed paste... old central Australian rec...
Below: Rosie Nangala ... Warlpiri tribeswoman from the ... Tanami Desert, demonstrates ... how to make a drink from ... the seed pod's corky ...

(page 1 of 3)

The Australian Defence Magazine
July 25 - 28 1993
pages 21 - 25
(page 2 of 3)

The Tanami Desert of Central Australia and the wide plains of Niger in western Africa are oceans apart, but they have much in common. Both are harsh, unforgiving places where life can become mere survival.

The Warlpiri, traditionally hunters and gatherers, have existed in the Tanami for thousands of years. The Hausa, subsistence farmers, have done likewise in southern Niger, a French colony granted independence in 1960 and now one of the poorest nations on the planet.

It is fitting that one people should use its age-old skills to help the other in its time of need. And at the centre of this coming together of two ancient cultures is a bit of down-to-earth Aussie ingenuity and the humble desert wattle, or acacia, a common sight in the Australian outback.

In the seventies and eighties, Australian acacias were planted in parts of southern Niger that were regularly ravaged by drought and famine. The idea was to use the scrubby trees as firewood and windbreaks in areas denuded by over-farming. As well, the farmland that remained was regularly scoured by searing, dust-laden winds from the Sahara, causing massive erosion and darkening the sky for days.

The acacias grew well and in 1989 Australian forester Lex Thomson, who was visiting Niger as a technical adviser, suggested another use for them. Their seeds, which were being produced in abundance on the trees around the regional centre of Maradi, might be a worthwhile food for the Hausa. Thomson remembered that desert Aborigines had traditionally eaten acacia seeds, although little about this had been documented.

The Australian Tree Seed Centre, part of the CSIRO, conducted further investigations. In co-operation with the Maradi Integrated Development Program, which is partly funded by the Australian relief and development agency, SIMAID, field trials looked at how to obtain premium yields of seeds. Dietary trials, first on animals and then with human volunteers, tested the nutritional value.

The conclusions were that the seeds could be a beneficial supplement to the Hausa's largely vegetarian diet. "They are about the poorest people in the world," says CSIRO senior research scientist Chris Harwood, who has just returned from Maradi. "In a lot of indicators, Niger ranks lowest in quality of life. They grow millet and sorghum, but it's too dry for maize and there's recurrent famine. But even if there's a year with a bit of rain, any protracted dry will stop the crops from getting up."

Initially, the Hausa ground the acacia seeds into a flour which they usually mixed with millet or sorghum. But such was the enthusiasm for their new food source that they soon developed an innovative range of recipes – everything from acacia spaghetti and acacia porridge to acacia doughnuts and "cafe d'acacia", ground and roasted seeds which local entrepreneurs now sell for brewing into their version of instant coffee.

As part of the continuing exchange of ideas, Harwood, from the CSIRO's Tree Seed Centre in Canberra, went to Niger with two Warlpiri women from Yuendumu, 300km up the Tanami Track from Alice Springs. Rosie Nangala was raised in the desert, spending 20 years as a hunter-gatherer before settling at Yuendumu. Kay Napaljarri grew up there, learning bush skills from her mother and older female relatives. They were accompanied by Wendy Baarda, a European who has lived with the Warlpiri for 25 years and who acted as an interpreter, and Jock Morse, a CSIRO scientist working with the Central Land Council, who did much of the Tanami field investigation of the seeds.

"Right from the start, one of the things we needed was more knowledge about how Aborigines collected the seeds, what varieties they used and how they made the food," says Harwood. "When we had that, the Commonwealth DPIE [Department of Primary Industries and Energy] thought it was worth sending Rosie and Kay to Niger on what was basically a cultural-scientific exchange. It was also very reassuring for the Africans to meet people whose traditional food this was – not just to have white scientists telling them to eat this stuff because it was good for them."

Rosie and Kay visited the villages around Maradi where the acacia seeds have become a regular part of the cuisine. "They swapped food preparation methods and recipes with the village women," says Harwood. "They saw the hardship of African village life, where every bucket of water has to be drawn by hand from 70 metre-deep wells and hunger is a constant threat. They also made some good friends and wanted them to visit Yuendumu as soon as possible."

The Hausa were intrigued by the dot paintings that Rosie and Kay, both accomplished

artists, brought with them as gifts. The Aborigines brought back some of the brightly coloured robes the Hausa women wear, a vivid contrast to the often moonscape-like land where they live.

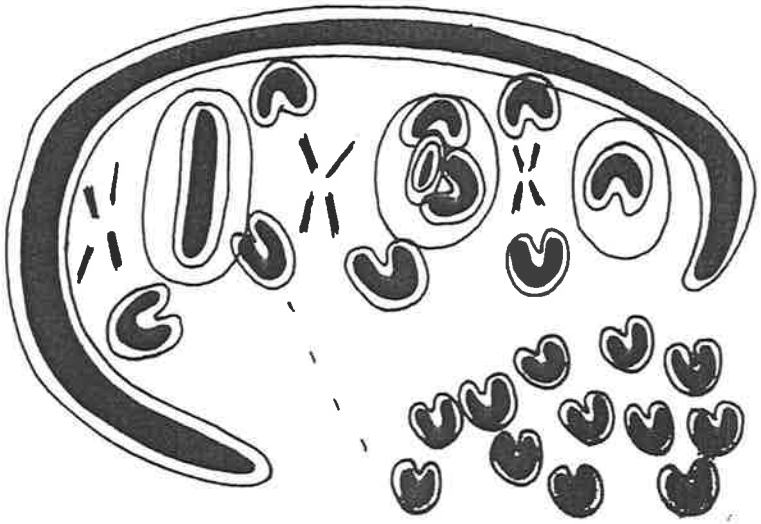
The Africans have now developed more than 20 recipes incorporating acacia seed flour and the Aboriginal women were interested to see these being prepared and cooked. In the Australian bush, they had customarily opened the acacia pods and eaten the seeds like raw peas or ground and mixed them with water to form a paste, a bit like peanut butter. "The Aborigines didn't use pots and pans, or spices, or a kitchen as such. So it was good for Rosie and Kay to see the Africans adopting this traditional food and using it in so many new and different ways."

The acacia seeds are the size of rice grains. They are black with yellow-orange threads that attach them to the pod. "They're the same plant family as peas," explains Harwood. "So they're a legume with more or less the same food properties – high in protein, reasonable levels of fat, a lot of carbohydrate and high in fibre. They complement the staple millet and sorghum in the African diet. With acacia added, people tend to put on weight, especially the women. The men think that's fine. It's very much the opposite of western countries. You couldn't say they're into supermodels. I suppose the thinking is you are likely to last through a famine better if you're carrying something of a spare tyre." ⊙

Nangala (left) and Maggie Nakamarra winnow acacia seed back in their Warlpiri country in the Tanami Desert.

(page 3 of 3)

Yaninjarla ngangkayi-mani
karla nyurnukuju.
Yapa-panulu yanurnu nyanjaku
nyurnuku. Lawa yakarra-
pardinja-wangu-juku ka
ngunami.



11

12

Watingki manu karntangku
kapala miyi manu tiyi ngarni.
Karntangku karla miyi yinyi
kurduku.

15

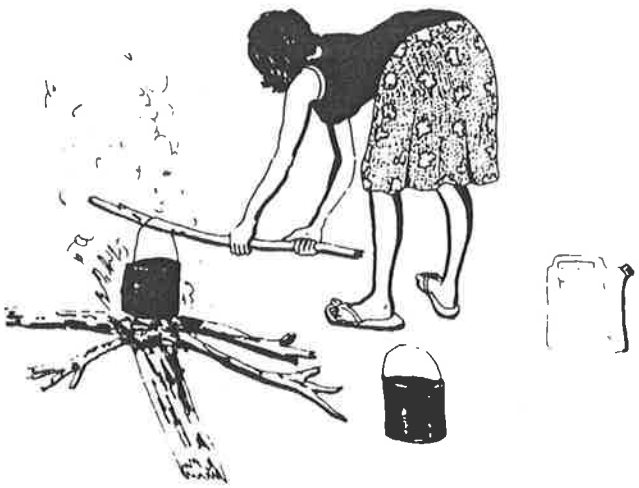
NYURNU-KURLU yirrarnu June Napanangkarlu
Warlpiri Literature Production Centre Inc. 1981
Yuendumu

16

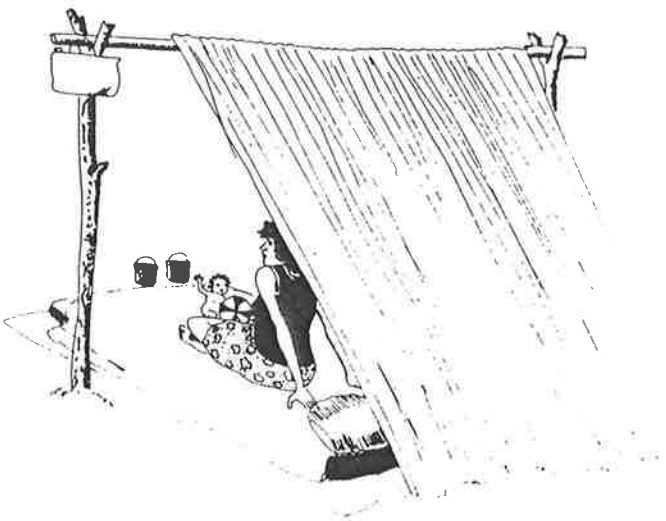
Ngajuku-purdangkarlu kapirdirli ka mangarri purrami.

Ngajuku-purdangkarlu kapirdirli ka kurdu wita mardarni.

2

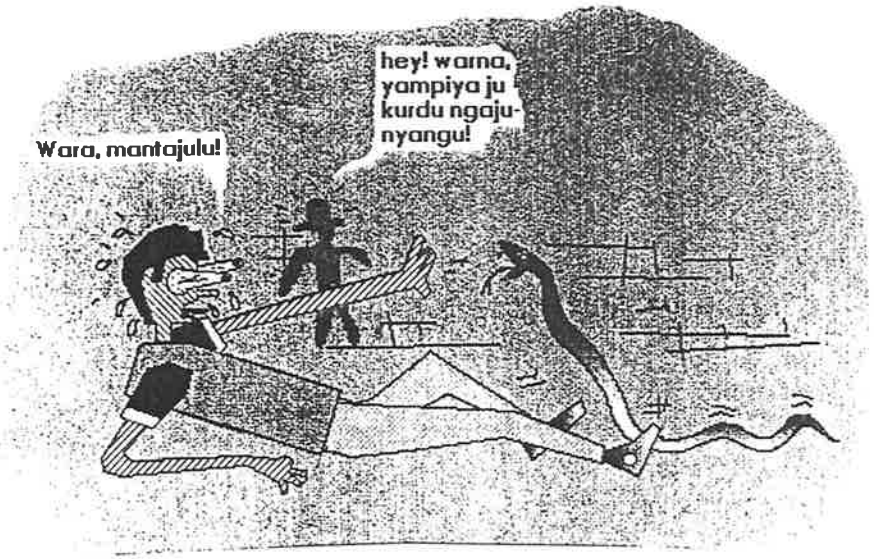


Ngajuku-purdangkarlu kapirdirli ka nalija purrami warlungka.

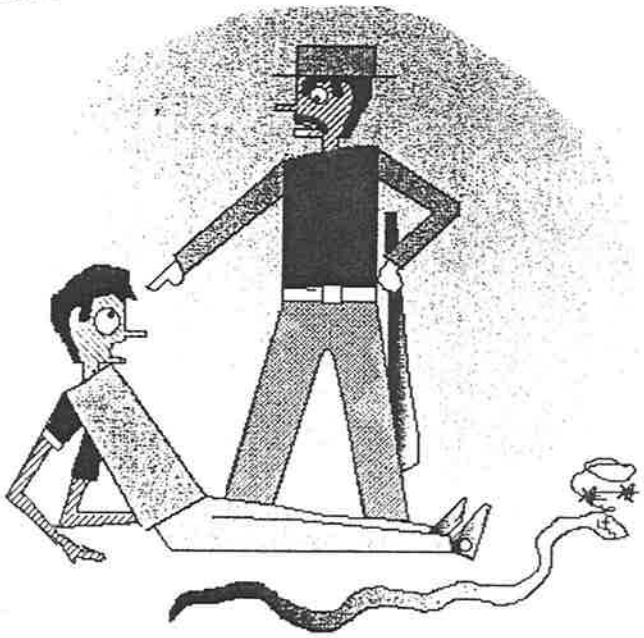


Ngajuku-purdangka kapirdi ka nyinami yamangka mata kurdu wita-kurlu.

NGAJUKU KAPIRDI Warlpiri-Mi yirrarnu JineNapanangkarlu
Yuendumu 1982 Warlpiri Literature Production Centre Inc.



10



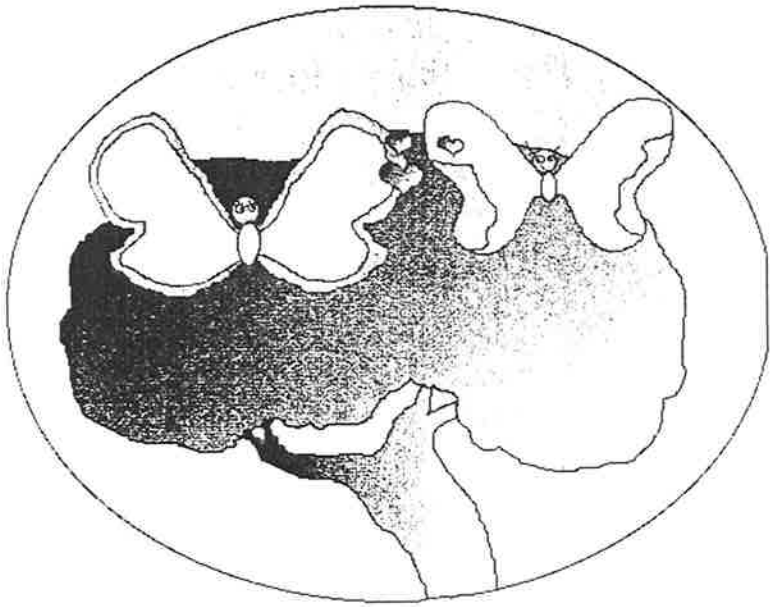
11

"Wara!" Wantijarna ngajuju. Kapuju yarlkikarla nyurru-juku warnangkuju.

11

Yatiyi! Pakarnu warnaju papangku. Papaju wangkaja, "Nati yanta wurnturu manangkarra-wana."

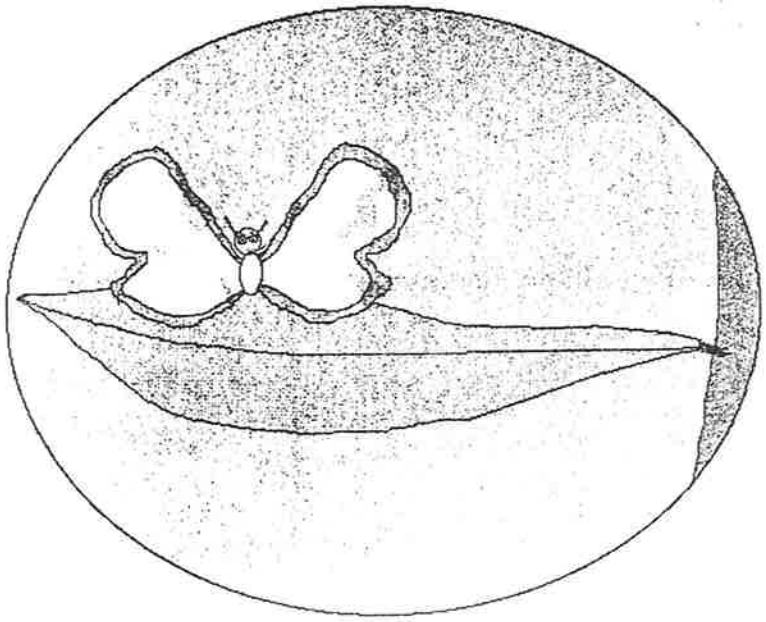
KUJARNA NYANGU WARNA WIRLINYIRLA
yini yirrarnu Kay Ross Napaljirrirli
kurlwarri kujurnu Donovan Rice Jampijinpartu 15
Bilgual Resources Development Unit



2

Pinta-pinta-jarra kapala manyu-karri karnta manu wirriya.

3



4

Karnta pinta-pinta ka nyinami parlangka.

PINTA-PINTA KURLU yimi yirrarnu Barbara Martin Naparangkarlu

kuruwarri kujurnu Donovan Rice Jampijinparlu

5

Bilingual Resources Development Unit. Yuendumu 1997

Puku 1

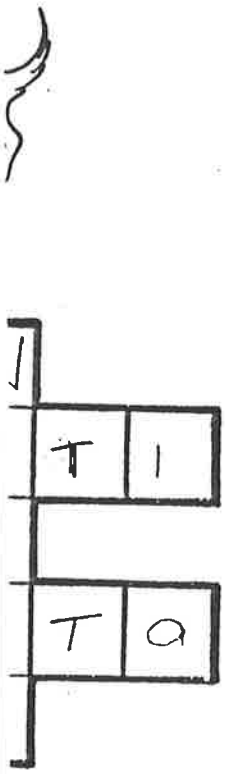
Appendix IX Examples of Student Work

Copy the sentence. Can you put the words in a different order?

Jalanguju _____

Kurdu ka yani jurlpu kurra.

Yani Ka Kurdu Jurlpu Kurra.



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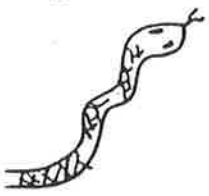
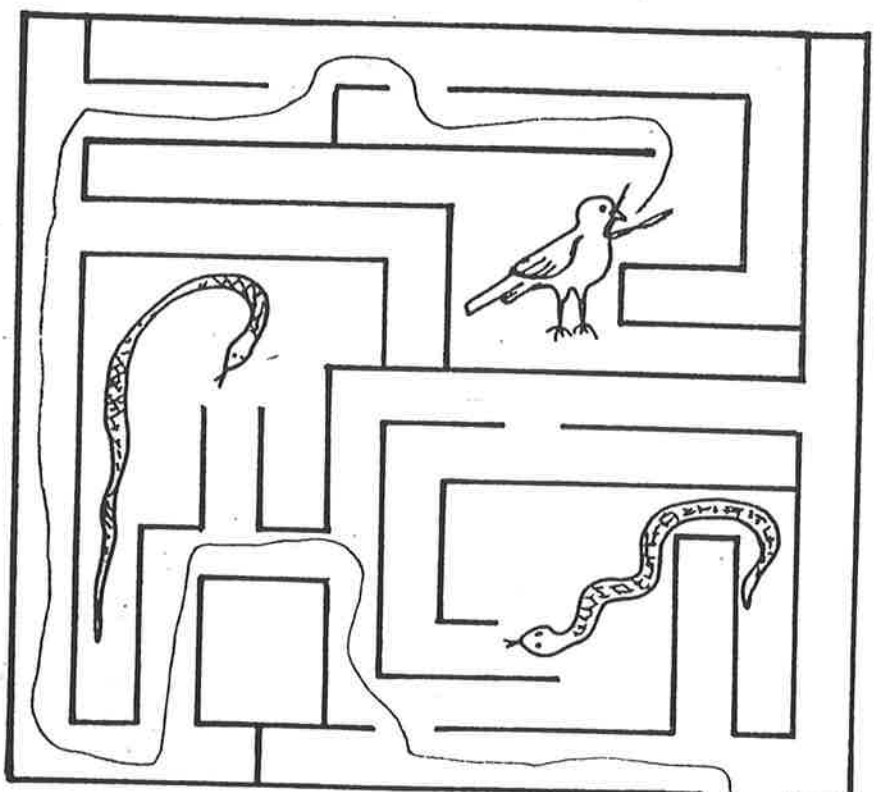
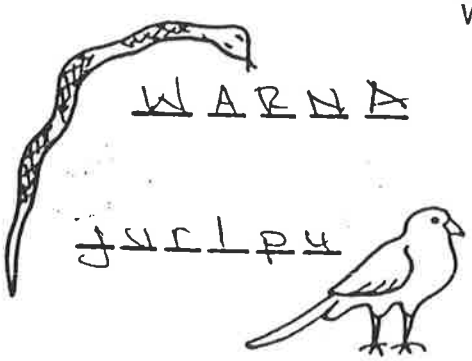


5



Write the words.



WARNA

jurlpu

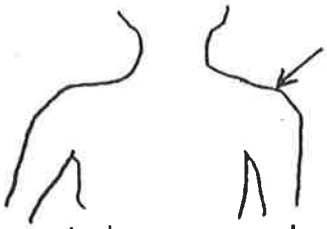
WARTI

Jalanguju_____

Write in the first syllable, ja, ji, or ju, at the beginning of the word.

ja ji ju

Jurru

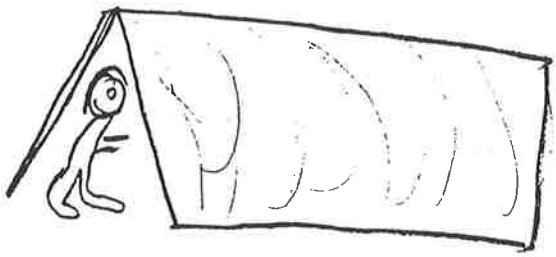


Jimanta

Jamana

JU

Read and draw. Circle ju.



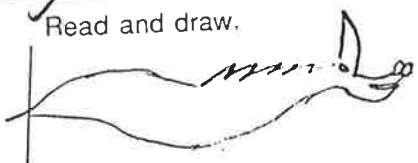
Jupurru ka yukami yujuku-kurra.

Write a sentence about the picture.

Jangala ka yani ngurra kurra warrki-jangka

Read and draw.

jija



juju

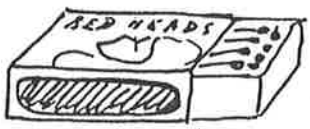
jujuju

Jalanguju_____

Fill in the spaces to complete the syllable pattern.

(Jilipurlu-wati yirraka jungarnirli.)

	a	i	u
j	ja	ji	_ _
m	m_	_ _	mu



maji ji

ma ji u

Ma Mu

ji ja

Mi

Write the words. (Yirdi-wati yirraka.)

Ma mi mu

Draw a picture about the sentence. (Pija yirraka nyampu yimi-kirli.)

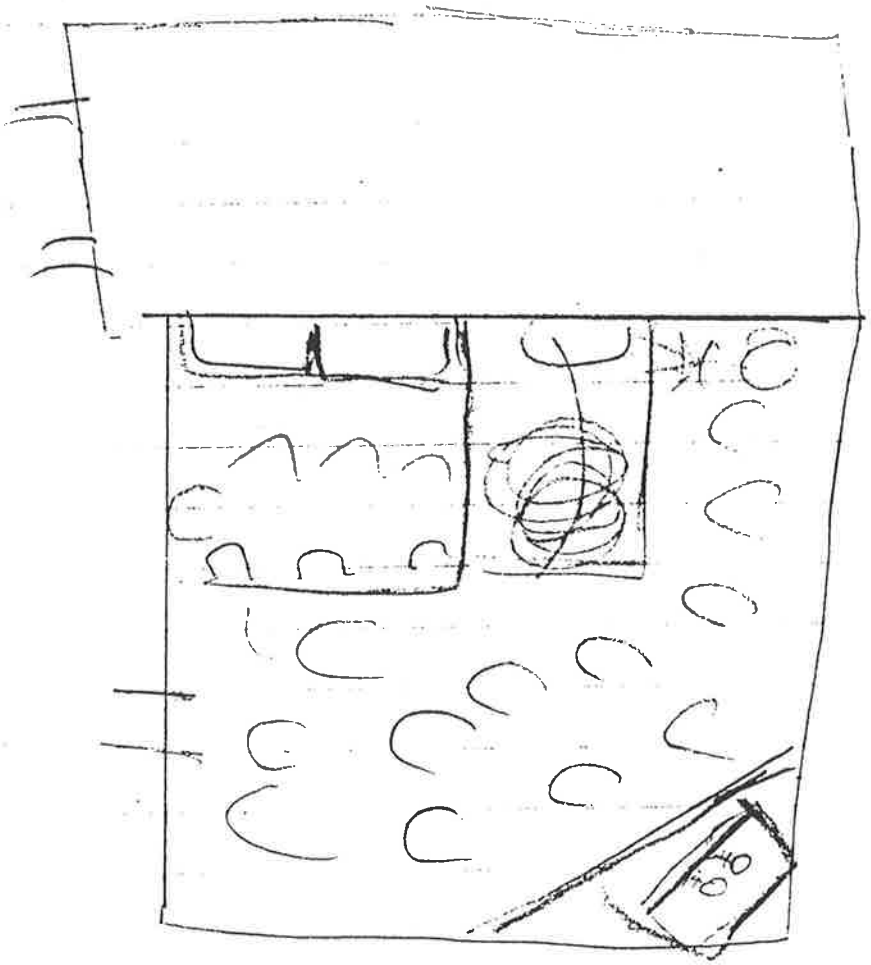
Marlu-jarra kapala parnkami mulju-kurr

Write a sentence for the picture. (Yimi yirraka nyampu pijaku.)

Yapa Palu kalu yani Wirlinyi manu Maliki jarrangku kajana wajilipinyi Purdangirli wanangku.

31

Nganimpa -rnalu yanu basketball kurra mungangka yanu pina ngurra kurra video nyangu -rnalu



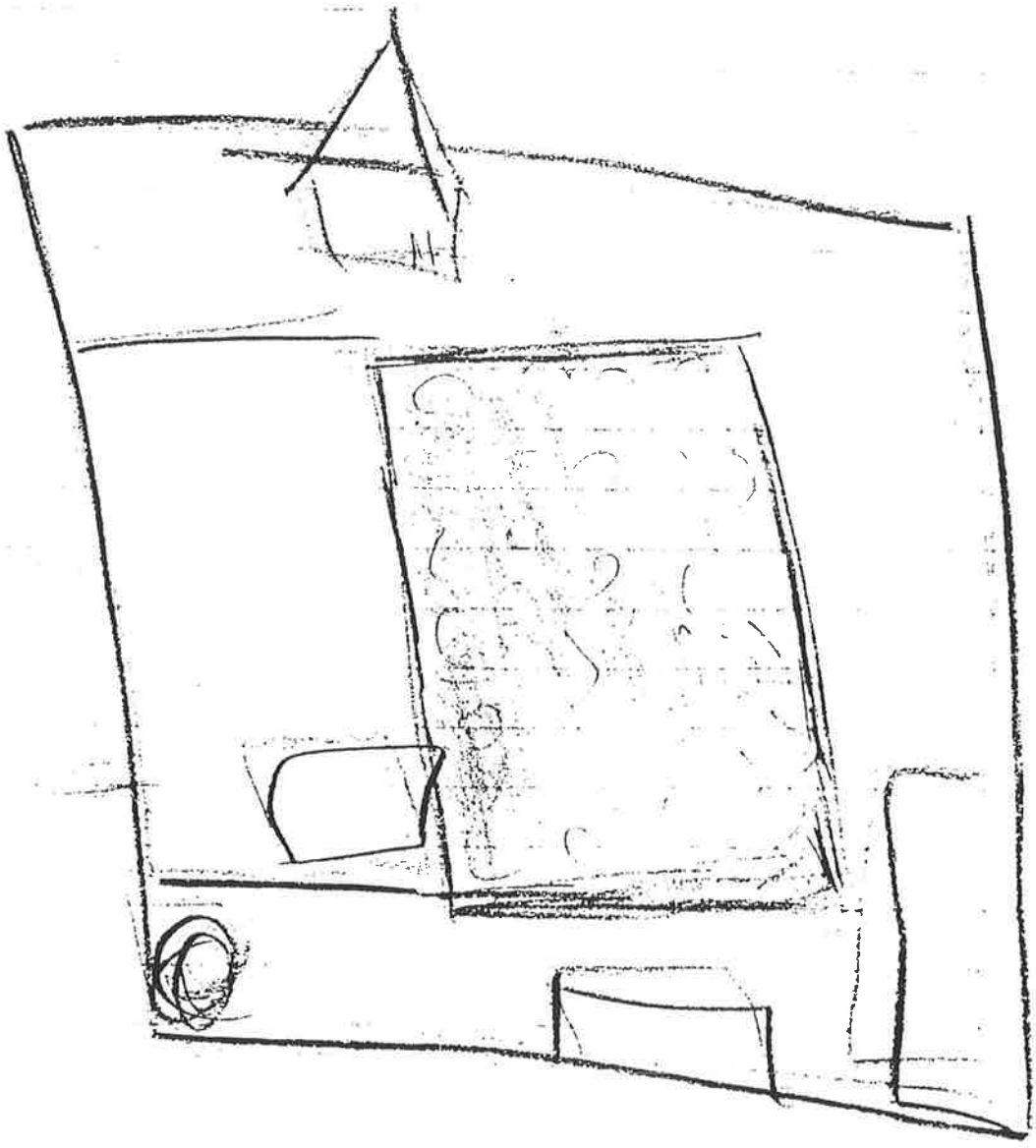
Nganimpa – rnalu yanu pirrarni

Swimming pool Kirra

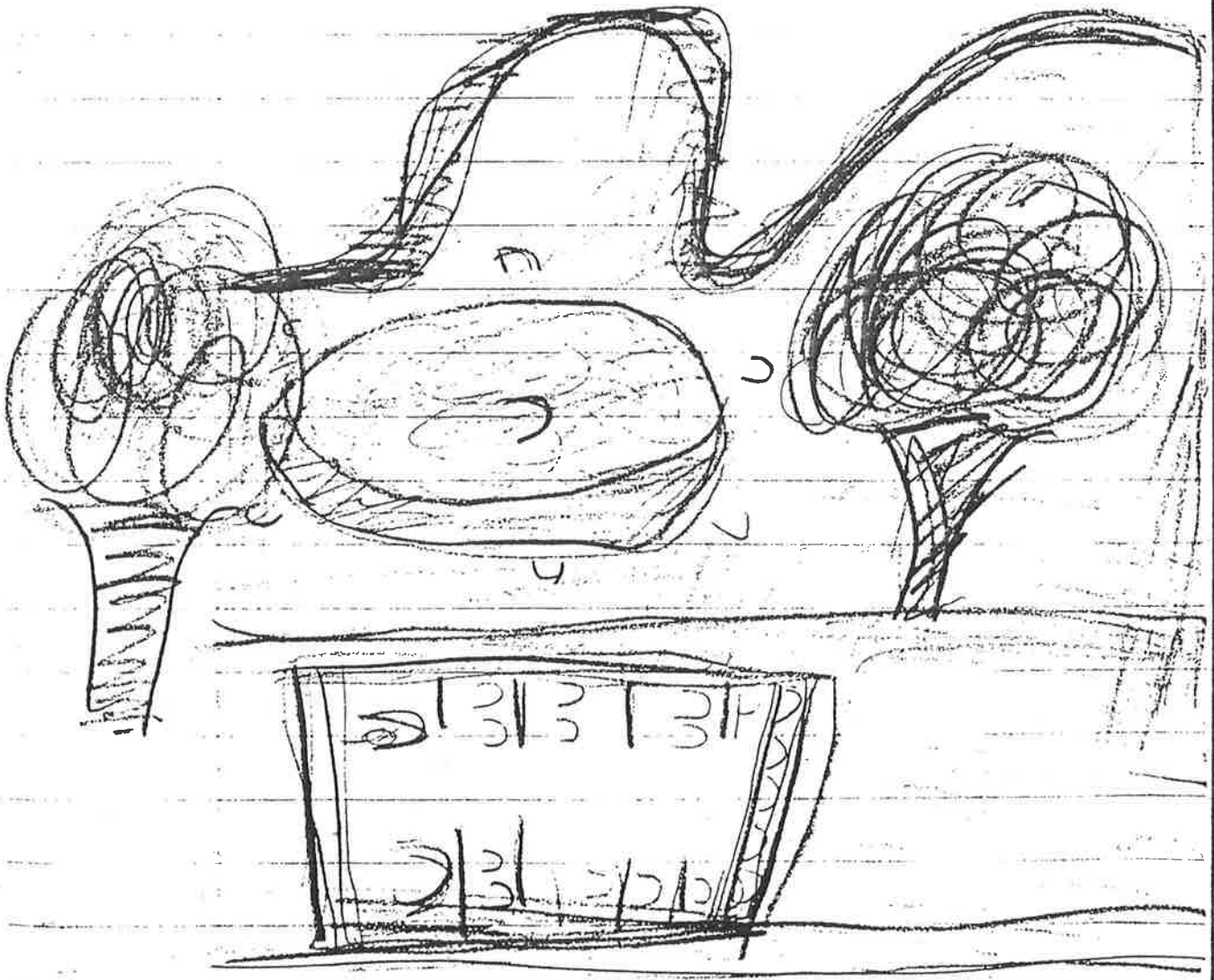
Nganimpa-rnalu yanu pina

ngurra kurra

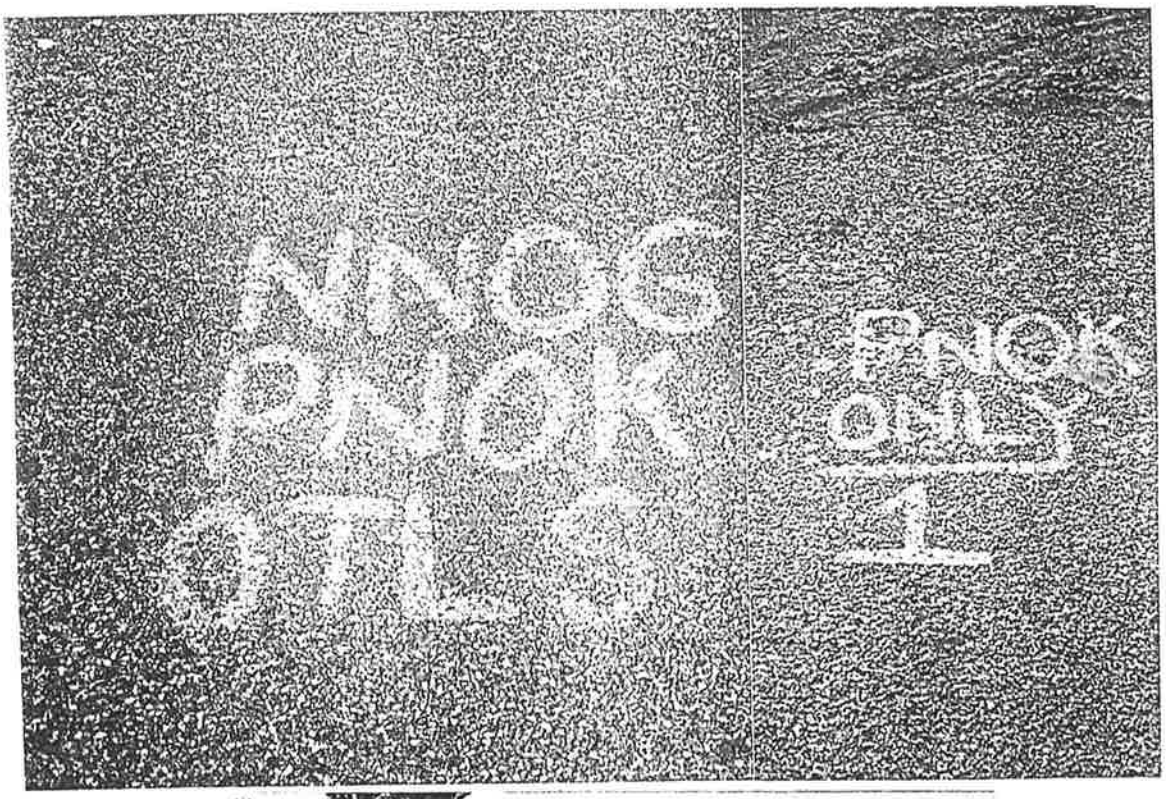
Manu ..... Nganimpa-rnalu yanu

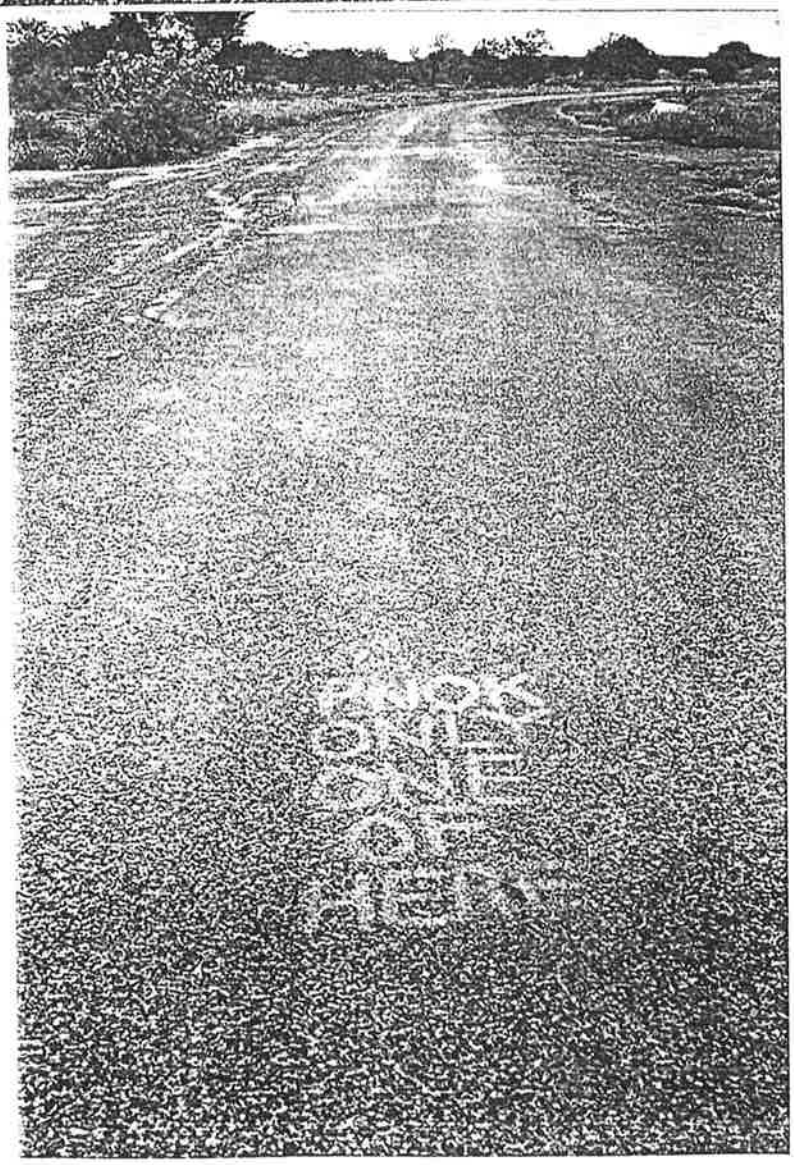


Nganimpu-rnalu yanu
manyu-karrya ... ngapa-kurra
wakalpa-kurra · manu-maiki · yanu
pina-ngurra'i-kurra-jarrda kurra



Appendix X Examples of Warlpiri Graffiti





The Convocation and Alumni Magazine of F.U.

Aboriginal graffiti tradition

Christine Nicholls was surprised and interested when an Aboriginal friend returned to the table where they were eating and said: "I didn't know whitefellas did that."

She was referring to graffiti scrawled on the walls in the restaurant toilets, and her comment says as much about Aboriginal ways as about those of the whitefella.

Graffiti is common in Aboriginal communities and, according to Ms Nicholls, this is not a case of Aboriginal youth simply picking up on western youth culture.

Leaving personal marks on walls, even inside private homes, is an accepted part of Aboriginal life and, as such, modern graffiti using marker pens or occasionally spray paint is "not such a rupture with tradition as it seems on the surface".

"Some people, including Aboriginal people, see it as modern culture eroding Aboriginal ways but graffiti has a good deal in common with traditional practice," Ms Nicholls said. "While it uses Roman script, there are similarities in content and at the structural level."

Ms Nicholls, a Lecturer in Australian Studies at Flinders, worked for nine years as principal of a school at Lajamanu in the Tanami Desert and the PhD thesis she is completing includes a study of the role and impact of graffiti created there by the Warlpiri people.

Two important themes have emerged. The first is that the majority of the modern graffiti is meant as a signature, territorial marking or statement of kinship affiliation.

Just as pre-contact Aborigines regularly left hand prints (either singly or in groups of up to 20) on rocks or cave walls, the most common modern graffiti is a single name followed by phrases such as "one and only" or a list of names who are the "only 22 best sisters" or "only best band, ok".

The graffiti often is quite aggressive, almost daring readers to contradict it, and stresses the superiority of their linguistic group or area over others. A great deal is based on taunts, insults, swearing and the deliberate use of offensive expressions to replace milder ones.

Similarly, a good deal of the "art" on cave walls and other natural surfaces is aggressive in content.

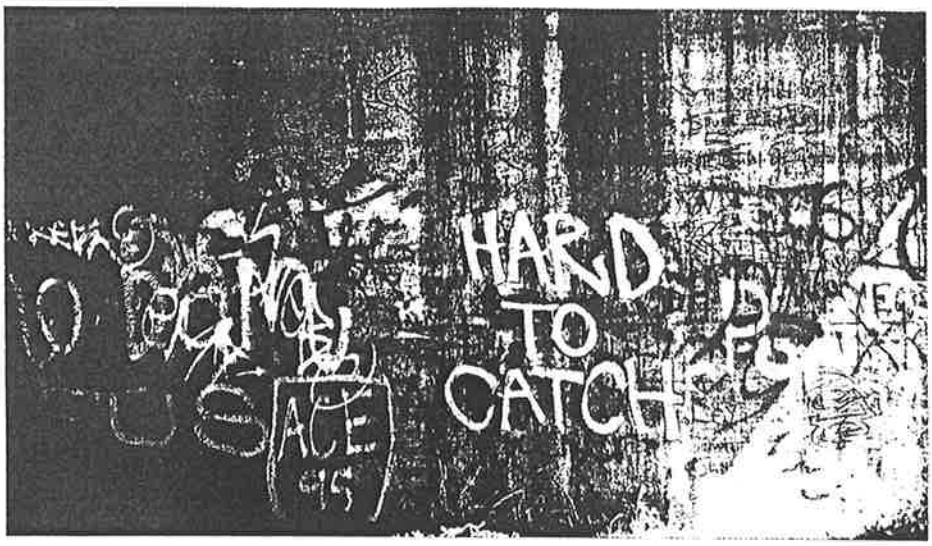
The second clear theme is that Aboriginal graffiti differs in a number of significant respects from that written by non-Aboriginals.

The most obvious differences are that Aboriginal people proudly sign and own their work, there is little use of humour, and very rarely does a graffiti writer create a dialogue by commenting on another's work.

More detailed research shows there is little introspection in Aboriginal graffiti – as Ms Nicholls puts it, "no confessional stuff or pleas for help".

"I think a comparison shows that on the whole white kids are in more trouble psychologically than traditionally-oriented Aboriginal kids; their sense of self is not as strong," she said.

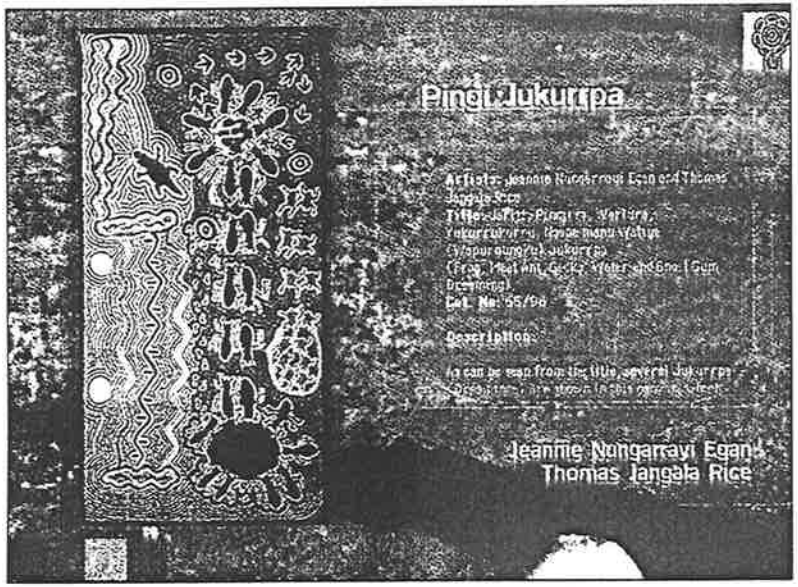
Aboriginal graffiti also is more likely to appear immodest, reflecting the wider cultural attitude that a healthy assessment of one's personal worth is normal, and not in the least big headed.



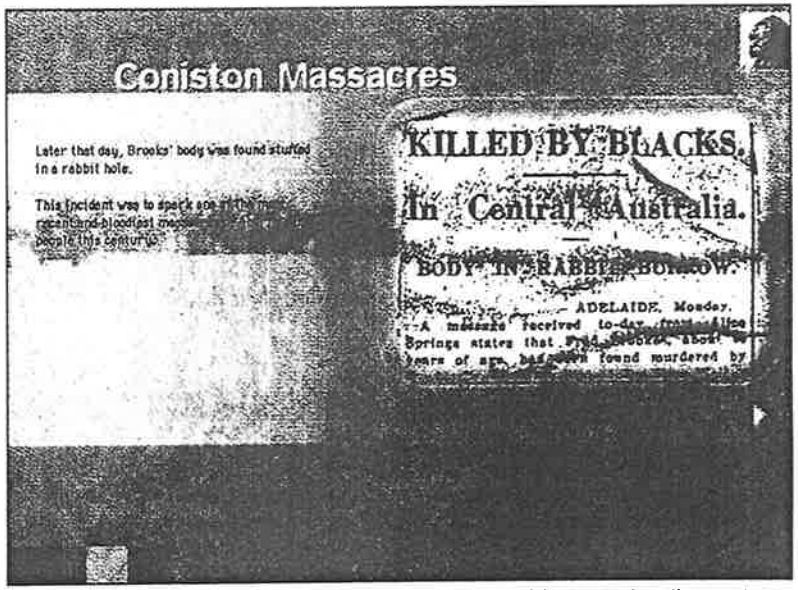
An example of "one and only" Lajamanu graffiti.

Above: Aboriginal graffiti in Port Augusta defying police (photograph courtesy of The Advertiser).
Right: Christine Nicholls: "not such a rupture of tradition".

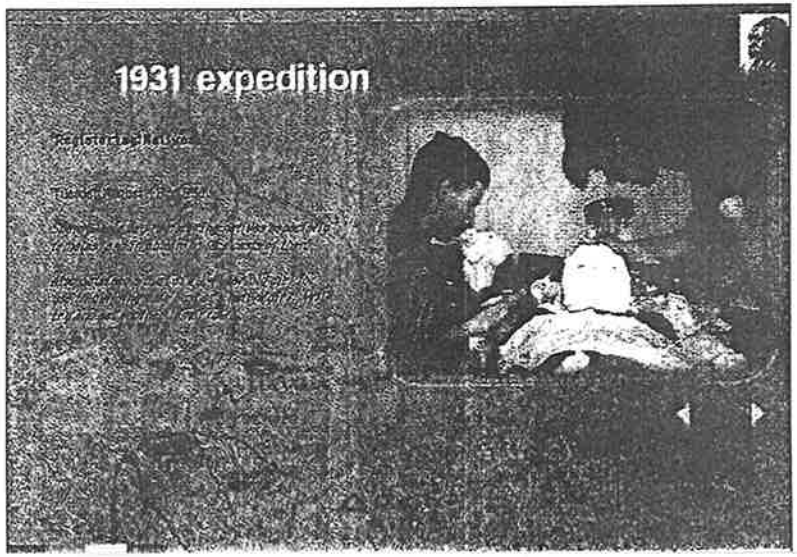
Black and white, and inside out



The Yuendumu communities are famous for their art



Coniston massacres . . . an event remembered by people alive today



Yanardilyi — Cockatoo Creek
Published by Tanami Network; Windows 95/Power Macintosh; $49.95

(page 1 of 2)

The Australian
24/3/98 p 14

Discus

MARK BUTLER

The Australian
Tues, March 24
1998 p 14

(page 2 of 2)

ONE of the major reasons Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders are so poorly understood by their fellow Australians — from the Prime Minister down to the rabid cabbie convinced that the local park is about to become a rehousing project for refugees from Redfern — is that so much of our information is delivered from a non-indigenous perspective, and we find it difficult to accept when indigenous people fail to act out the script we've written for them.

The only cure for such cruel ignorance is a salutary dose of facts from an indigenous perspective, if only because it helps to make the rest of us open up to the notion of a different, if not better, script.

This CD-ROM shows us another script, written by the Warlpiri and Anmatyerre people who live in and around Yuendumu on the edge of the Tanami Desert, 300km north-east of Alice Springs.

This community is famous for its dot paintings, which in the words of Susan McCullough of *The Australian*, are among the "most significant and certainly most inspiring contemporary art forms".

Yanardilyi — Cockatoo Creek was produced by the Tanami Network, one of the first and oldest Aboriginal media networks, which links Yuendumu and three other western desert communities.

The disc is based on a remarkable painting of the same name, which combines four jukurrpa (dreamings): kangaroo, two men, budgerigars and meat ants.

The painting is a vast collaborative effort by 29 community artists, and contains within its startling colours and swirling forms the community's knowledge and ownership of their country.

Everything on the disc begins and ends with this painting. It is the first screen and the place you return to.

An Aboriginal voice identifies each of the four segments. Click on a segment and your exploration begins.

The journey is not mapped out for you: intuition is the name of this game.

The emphasis is on discovery: you zoom in on the detail of the canvas, then zoom again into an examination of how the segment was made, the artistic techniques and the dreaming stories associated with it.

As well, a four-coloured strip appears at the bottom of each screen, each colour representing one of the main sections of the disc: the Canvas itself; Creating Yanardilyi, looking at the how, who and why of it; Arts, which provides an overview of the importance of art in this community; and Past and Present.

This last category has details of one of the most recent massacres of Aboriginal people, at Coniston in 1928, a chilling reminder that the atrocities many Australians would have us believe are ancient history are actually part of the experience of people now alive.

This section also has some fascinating material from an anthropological expedition to the area in 1931, including original film footage that serves to remind us how recently so-called scientists saw indigenous people as "natives" objects to study.

Navigation is smooth and easy to follow within each section, with arrows always pointing the way.

However, so much about this disc is cutting-edge, I found it disappointing that so little attention was given to making the cursor more of an indicator and less of an inert pointer. It would have been handy, on my barely coping system, for the cursor to show that the program was just moving to the next phase, and not stalled.

And given the lack of overt navigation assistance, the cursor could also have been useful in indicating the purpose and function of different zones.

Only one aspect of the content troubled me: there was very little information about the health and social issues faced by the Yuendumu communities.

I can understand how heartily sick they must be of being portrayed as witless, poverty-stricken victims, and how they might feel that this is not the truth about them, but merely a passing burden imposed by others, yet some acknowledgement of the huge problems faced by people in these areas would have provided a more complete picture.

Still, it was encouraging to read about and see the achievements of the Yuendumu communities. They have been in the forefront of establishing independence from welfare through their own enterprise and creativity, not only through their famous art works, but through investments in mining and mining exploration.

You don't hear about these things very often in mainstream media, sad to say. We tend to focus on bad news, wherever it comes from.

I enjoyed my journey into the very soul of Yuendumu.

I haven't finished the journey yet, but I intend to. It is rare to come upon any medium that presents a perspective on Aboriginal people constructed from the inside out.

Here we are, the non-indigenous majority, about to celebrate the second millennium of our civilisation, and these stories were first told when our ancestors were just discovering their thumbs.

I keep returning to the painted images, for it seemed to me that therein lay the truth of what the people of Yuendumu wanted to say with this disc: "We have been here a long time, and we have learned something about this part of the land called Australia, and here it is. It might explain why we are still here, and why we are not going away."

markb@g140.aone.net.au

Canvas frames big picture of black survival

Continuing saga . . . the Big Canvas on display at the South Australian Museum — Picture: TONY LEWIS

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By TERRY PLANE
and DEBORAH JONES

The Australian
Tues March 10
1998 p5

EARLY this century, multi-disciplinary expeditions went out from the South Australian Museum to the bush with the attitude that members had to study Aborigines because they were disappearing.

In the 1920s and 30s some of those expeditions visited Yuendumu, north-west of Alice Springs, on the edge of the Tanami Desert.

Far from disappearing, the Yuendumu people have maintained contact with the museum and contributed important art, in recognition of both the Adelaide Festival and the Australian Aboriginal Cultures Collection, in development at the museum.

The canvas — 4m long, 3m wide and aptly named The Big Canvas: Painting Cockatoo Creek Country — depicts four stories of a kangaroo, two men, budgerigars and meat ants.

These constitute knowledge and ownership of the country by the Warlpiri and Anmatyerre peoples.

In a remarkable feat of collaborative painting, 29 community members worked on the canvas, producing a work of consistent colour, design and thematic unity.

The delivery of the work to the museum is a chapter in a continuing saga of co-operation with the Yuendumu community.

There have been joint ventures in exhibition and performance tours to Europe and the US while more than 60 sacred objects from the museum collection have been returned to their traditional owners. Some items had been in the collection since those study tours 70 years ago.

The museum has also hosted the launch of the Yuendumu people's CD-ROM on Cockatoo Creek as part of the Big Canvas exhibition.

This is believed to be the first CD-ROM developed entirely by an Aboriginal community.

Art as a political act was at the forefront of discussion at Adelaide Artists Week yesterday.

Aboriginal, South African and Canadian artists and curators addressed the theme of Broken Lines, talking about their experiences as members of communities whose ties with their past had been disrupted by colonisation.

Zayd Minty, a South African of Indian descent, is developing an arts program at Robbin Island Museum, on the site of the prison in which Nelson Mandela was held.

Prisoners were allowed visitors only two or three times a year, and conversation was only permitted in English or Afrikaans, he said.

He described artworks that responded directly to this and other aspects of incarceration which separated prisoners from their culture.

"The question of broken lines is very important in South Africa," he said.

Fiona Foley, whose people come from Fraser Island, said Aboriginal people had had their language, dance, song, art and religion "beaten out of them".

"I grew up with an immense sense of loss," she said.

(page 2 of 2)

Appendix XII Selected Web Sites

Warlpiri language web sites:
Warlpiri language
http://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/wlp
http://www.ozemail.com.au/~zstraws/warldict.html

Papers on Warlpiri
http://web.mit.edu/afs/athena.mit.edu/org/l/linguistics/www/hale
http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASEDA/langsc
http://coombs.anu.edu.au/WWWVLPages/AborigPages/LANG/LangHome.html

Other related language web sites:
Warlmanpa
http://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/wpa/wpa-verbs.html
http://www.anu.edu.au/linguistics/nash/aust/wpa/wpa-vocab.intro.html

Warlpiri community related web sites:
Yuendumu School CEC
http://www.topend.com.au/~yuendumu/

School links
http://www.schools.nt.edu.au/olsu/create/ntsch.html
http://www.boardofstudies.nsw.edu.au/links/schoolsnt.html

Tertiary Institutions
http://www.faira.org.au/linkscon.html

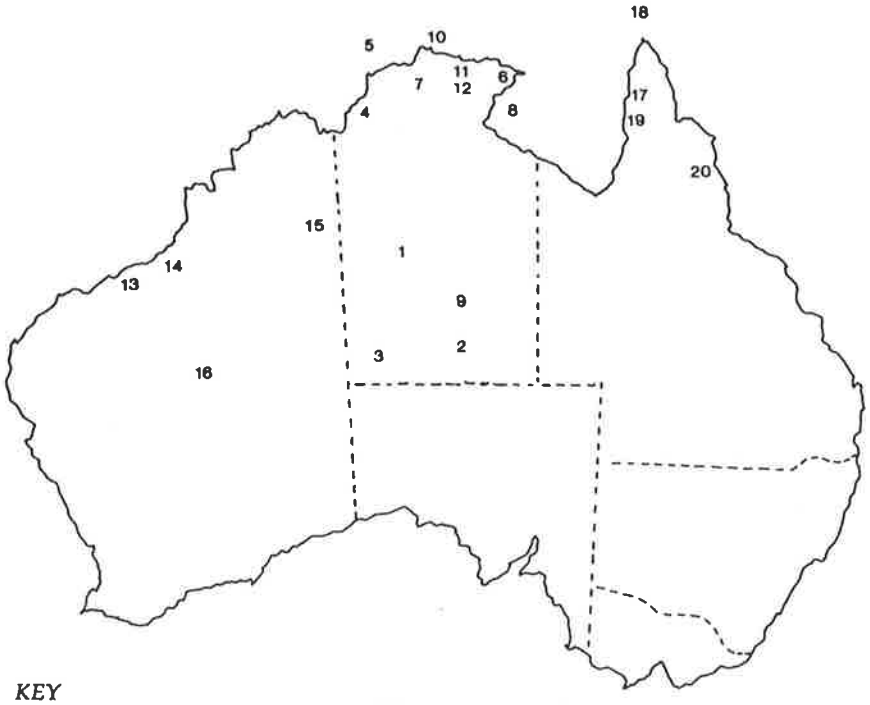
TeleHealth-NT
http://www.med.monash.edu.au/crh/projects/prhcit/report/tele62.html

The Big Canvas
http://www.samusuem.sa.gov.au/cockatoocreek/artists.html

Restoration of Fauna projects:
Mala - Rufous hare-wallaby
http://www.waite.adelaide.edu.au/AME/jdaues/A5.html

Bilby
http://www.waite.adelaide.edu.au/AME/jdaues/A6.html

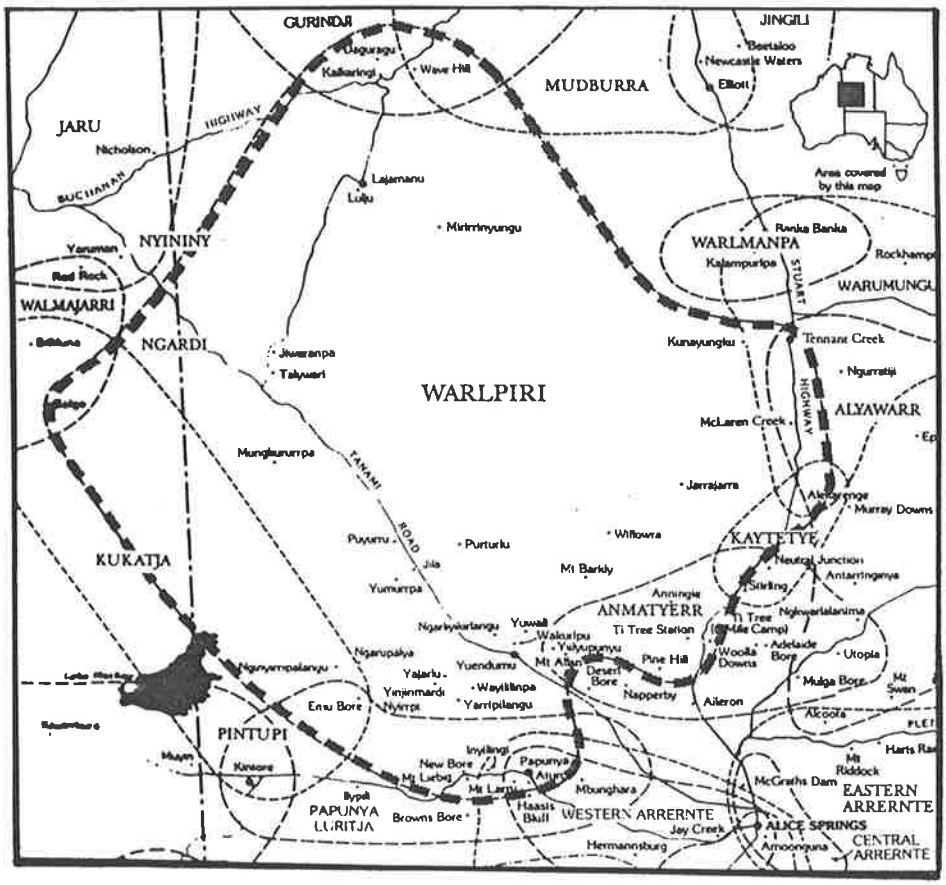
Map 1 **Distribution of strong Aboriginal languages**
(taken from Schmidt 1993:4)



KEY

1.	Warlpiri	3,000 +	
2.	Arrente dialects	3,000 +	
	—Western, Eastern Arrente		
	—Anmatjirra		
	—Alyawarra		
3.	Western Desert, eastern	3,000+	
	—Pitjantjatjara		
	—Pintupi-Luritja		
	—Yankunytjatjara		
4.	Murrinh-Patha	900+	
5.	Tiwi	1,400	
6.	Dhuwal-Dhuwala dialects (Yolnu)		
	—Gupapuyngu	1,700-2,000	
	—Djambarrpuyngu		
	—Gumatj		
7.	Gunwinggu	900	
8.	Anindilyakwa	1,000+	
9.	Kaltej	200	
10.	Maung	200	
11.	Burarra	400-600	
12.	Ndjebbana	200-	
13.	Yindjibarndi	500-600	
14.	Nyangumarta	700-800	
15.	Jaru	250	
16.	Western Destert, western	1,000+	
	—Manjiljarra		
	—Yulparija		
	—Martu Wangka		
	—Gugaja		
	—Ngaanyatjara		
17.	Wik Mungkan	900-1,000	
18.	Kala Lagaw Ya	3,000-4,000	
19.	Thayore	500	
20.	Kuku Yalanji	300	

Map 2 **Detail of Warlpiri speaker communities**
(taken from Laughren et al. 1996:1)

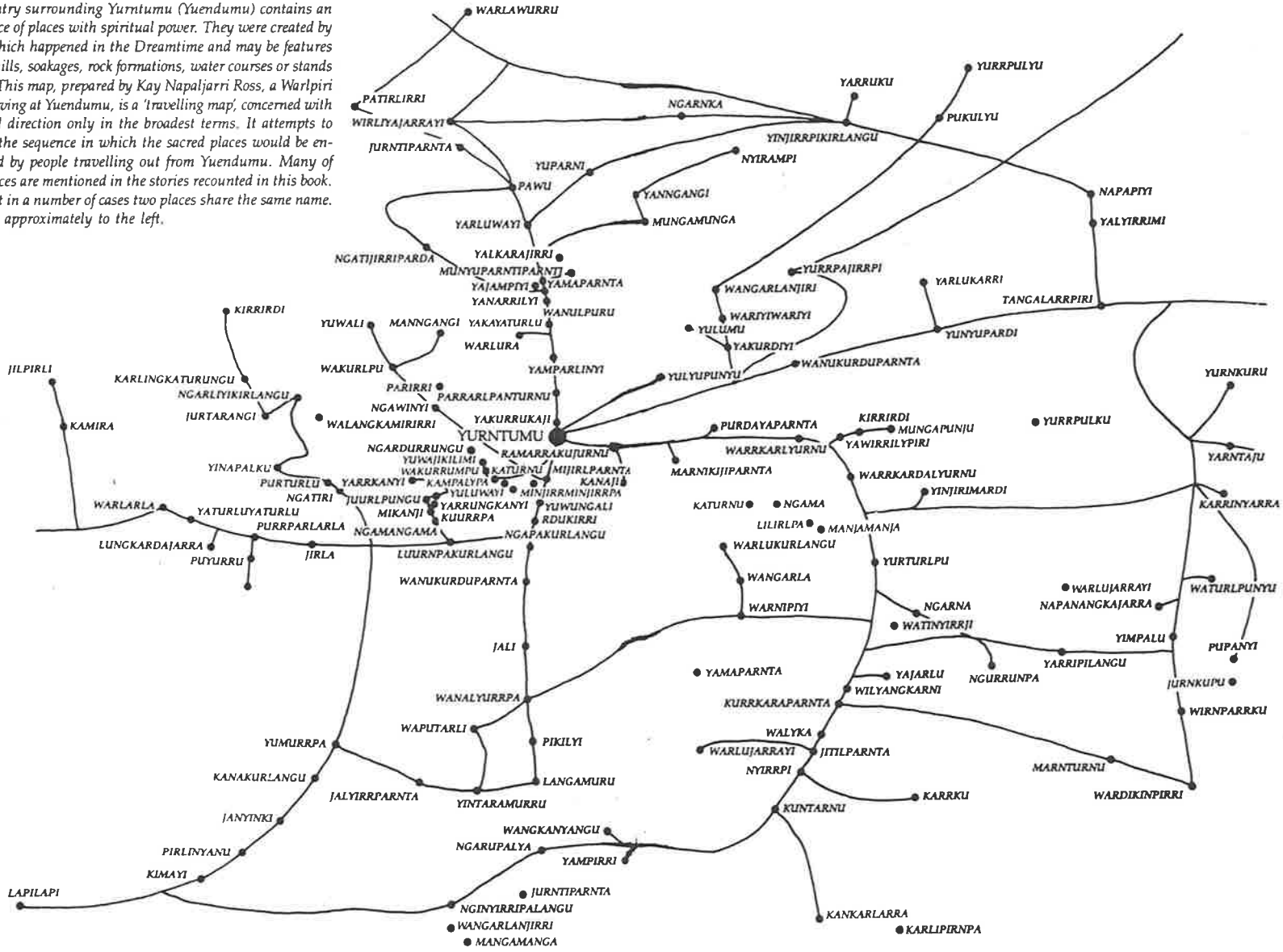


Map 3

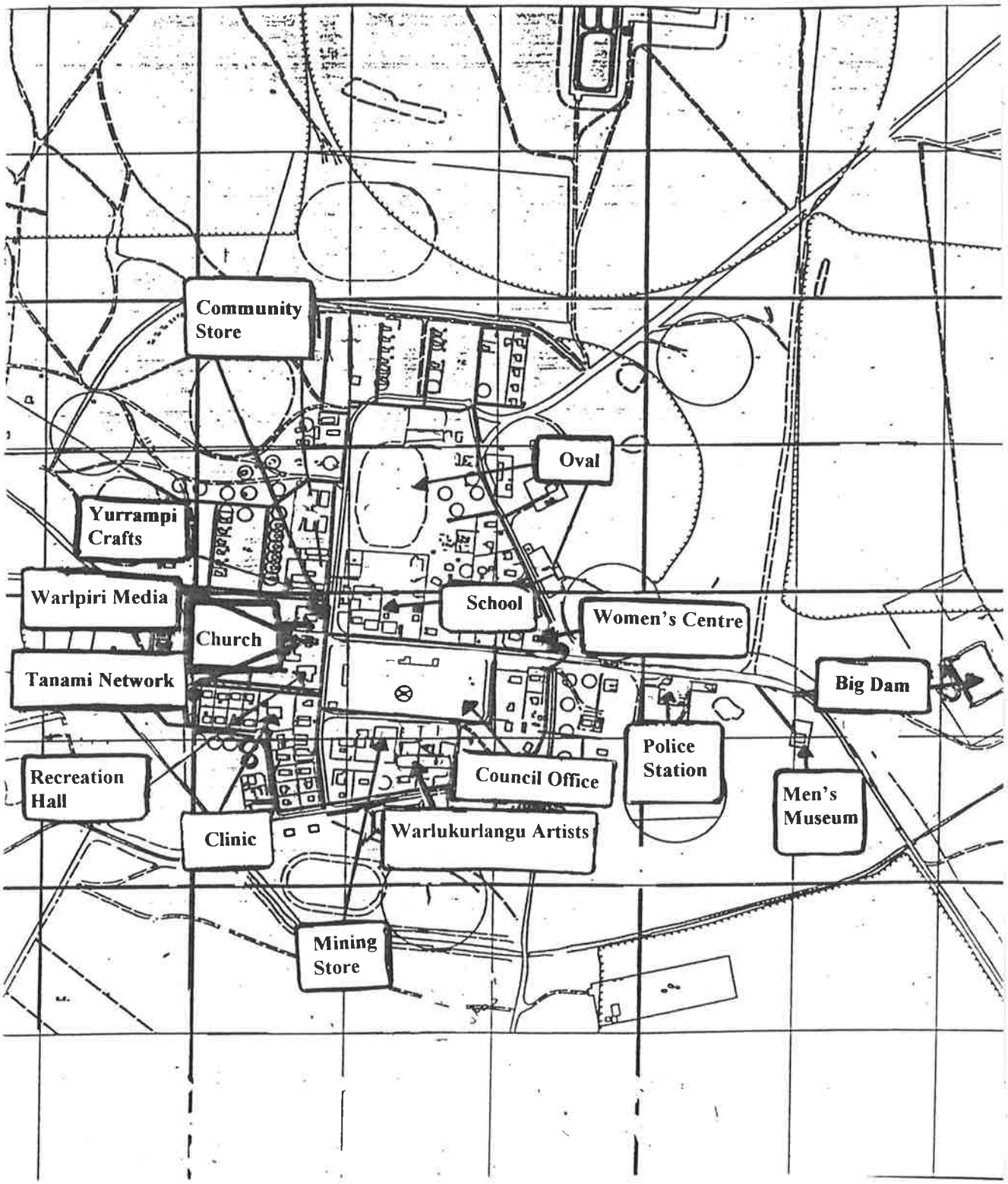
Detail of traditional landscape around Yuendumu
(taken from Warlukurlangu Artsits 1992:4-5)

TRADITIONAL LANDSCAPE AROUND YUENDUMU

The country surrounding Yurntumu (Yuendumu) contains an abundance of places with spiritual power. They were created by events which happened in the Dreamtime and may be features such as hills, soakages, rock formations, water courses or stands of trees. This map, prepared by Kay Napaljarri Ross, a Warlpiri woman living at Yuendumu, is a 'travelling map', concerned with scale and direction only in the broadest terms. It attempts to describe the sequence in which the sacred places would be encountered by people travelling out from Yuendumu. Many of these places are mentioned in the stories recounted in this book. Note that in a number of cases two places share the same name. North is approximately to the left.



Map 4 **Detail of Yuendumu**
(provided by Yuendumu Community Government Council)



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On Disko Island in 1981 I helped test the corrosion effects of sea fog on the snaplinks used for safety lines on glacier crossings. We simply hung them up on a cord and came back three months later. They looked reliable. A little tarnished, but reliable. The manufacturer claimed the breaking strength would be four thousand kilogrammes. It turned out that we could pull them apart with a fingernail. Exposed to the hostile environment, they had disintegrated.

It is through a similar process of deterioration that you lose your language.

Peter Hoeg (1992*) Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow,* London: Flamingo, 105.